

HISTORY
OF THE
TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY
CIVIL WAR





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BREV. MAJ.-GEN'L O. B. WILLCOX.



MAJ -GENERAL BURNSIDE.

THE STORY

OF THE

TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY

JULY 15th, 1862, TO MAY 30th, 1865

EMBRACING OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS
ON FILE IN THE RECORDS OF THE STATE
OF MICHIGAN AND OF THE UNITED
STATES REFERRING OR RELATIVE
TO THE REGIMENT.

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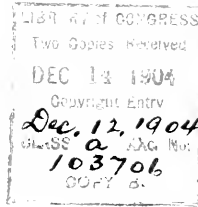
BYRON M. CUTCHEON

FORMERLY COLONEL OF THE REGIMENT

LANSING, MICHIGAN

ROBERT SMITH PRINTING CO., PRINTERS AND BINDERS

1904



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PREFACE.

Almost from the time of its muster out and disbandment, there has been a purpose or hope among the men who constituted the Twentieth Michigan, that at some time a record should be made and published of the part taken by that regiment in the war for the Union, during the years from 1862 to 1865. But the actual work of preparation and writing has been postponed from year to year until more than forty years have gone by since the regiment was summoned to arms. Many years ago, Lieutenant Charles W. Maynard commenced the work of collecting copies of letters and diaries written by members of the regiment during the war, more with the view of producing a narrative for his own family and friends than for a history to be published.

At the annual reunion of the regiment in 1899, Colonel B. M. Cutcheon was appointed historian, and associated with Lieutenant Maynard, who had previously been designated assistant historian, and a new effort was inaugurated to put the material accumulated into form for publication. At the reunion of 1900, at Ypsilanti, the association of the regiment endorsed the enterprise, voted to support it financially, and selected a "committee on publication" to act with the historians in passing upon the matter to be published. It has not been considered best to make a voluminous work nor to go to any extent into *personal* matters, but to make a brief and compact story of the organization, campaigns, battles and actions participated in by the command. To this short story are appended the official documents from the records of the war department and the State Adjutant General's office relating to the service, as well as the records from "Michigan in the War," printed by the authority of the state in 1879. These records were made by the Adjutant General, under authority of an act of the legislature, approved May 3, 1879, and may be regarded as official.

The bringing together of these official documents in the appendix, thus constituting a real official history of the regiment, must be of very great value and interest to the survivors of the command, their families, friends and descendants. These official records made within a few days or weeks of the events narrated, are more likely to be accurate than the memory of men now already old, from thirty or forty years after the events recalled.

In these official records will be found every report ever made by an officer commanding the regiment, and, it is believed, every report of a brigade commander in which this regiment is mentioned.

To these are added several division reports. The history of the Twentieth is so interwoven with that of the rest of the old brigade, that this story becomes in a large measure the history of the brigade and division. Into this story have also been incorporated sketches of our commanders; Burnside, Willcox,

Poe, Humphrey and Hartranft, with brief mention of Parke, Potter, Leasure, Withington, W. Huntington Smith and others.

"Some of the comrades will doubtless be disappointed at not finding in this history more of a personal nature, especially records of special instances of heroic conduct, notable escapes from death, or other thrilling personal episodes.

Such matter would have been most interesting, but both the author and the committee of publication were of the opinion that it must be omitted; first, because it would swell the size of the volume to undue proportions and largely increase the cost, and second, because it would be possible to insert only a few of the many equally deserving instances, thus producing the effect of partiality and unjust discrimination.

It is hoped by those in charge of the publication that all will cheerfully acquiesce in this view."

This compilation and story of a gallant body of men who tried to do their whole duty in a patriotic and manly fashion,—a sincere work of love,—is now submitted to the survivors and the families of those who have passed over to the eternal camping grounds in the hope that it may meet their approval.

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1862.

1865.

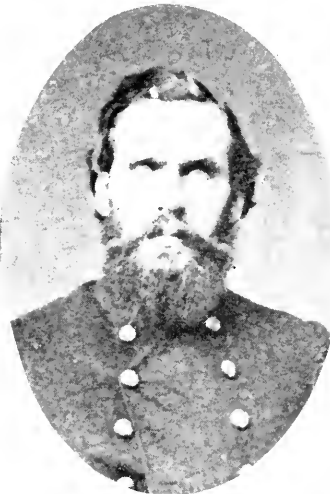
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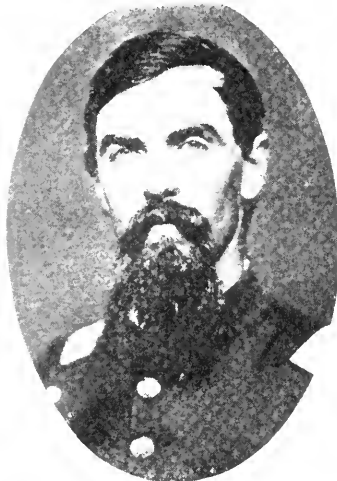
LT. COL. W. H. SMITH.



SURGEON S. S. FRENCH.



COL. BYRON M. CUTCHEON.



MAJ. GEO. C. BARNES.



COL. C. B. GRANT.



MAJ. FRANCIS PORTER.



CAPT. A. A. VANCLEVE.



CAPT. C. A. LOUNSBERRY.



CAPT. A. A. DAY.



SURGEON O. P. CHUBB.



CAPT. W. D. WILTSE.



CAPT. W. A. DEWEY.



CAPT. R. P. CARPENTER.



CAPT. WALTER McCOLLUM.



CAPT. H. F. ROBINSON.



CAPT. OLIVER BLOOD.



LIEUT. D. E. AINSWORTH.



LIEUT. JAMES B. GOOLD.



LIEUT. JOSHUA B. LEELAND.



LIEUT. A. W. BARNEY.



LIEUT. WM. GREEN.



LIEUT. CHAS. J. BROWN.



LIEUT. GEO. B. HICKS.



CAPT. CHAS. T. ALLEN.

CHAPTER I.

THE RAISING OF THE REGIMENT.

July 15, 1862.

August 19, 1862.

The Twentieth Michigan Infantry had its origin in the call of President Lincoln for "three hundred thousand more," issued July 1, 1862, pursuant to the memorial of the Governors of the loyal states. Michigan's quota, under that call, was 11,686. After conferences between the authorities of the war department and the Governor and military officers of the state, the conclusion was reached that one regiment of infantry should be recruited from each of the six congressional districts, and one from Wayne county; and the remainder of the quota should be made up of cavalry and artillery from the state at large, and recruits for the existing regiments. The Seventeenth Regiment was already organized and well advanced toward completion, so that the seven new infantry regiments were numbered from 18 to 24, inclusive. Thus it came to pass that the Twentieth Regiment was assigned to the Third congressional district, consisting of Washtenaw, Jackson, Calhoun, Eaton and Ingham counties. The ten companies were authorized and located as follows:

- Company A—Lansing, Ingham county.
- Company B—Ypsilanti, Washtenaw county.
- Company C—Battle Creek, Calhoun county.
- Company D—Ann Arbor, Washtenaw county.
- Company E—Parma, Jackson county.
- Company F—Grass Lake, Jackson county.
- Company G—Eaton Rapids, Eaton county.
- Company H—Ann Arbor, Washtenaw county.
- Company I—Marshall, Calhoun county.
- Company K—Chelsea, Washtenaw county.

It will therefore be seen that four of the ten companies were from Washtenaw county, two from Jackson county, two from Calhoun county, one from Eaton and one from Ingham county. In fact, county lines were not strictly observed, and a considerable number of Company F were enlisted from Washtenaw county, and a number of the men of Company D were recruited from Ingham county. Recruiting officers were authorized to recruit anywhere within the Third congressional district.

One of the axioms of mathematics is that "the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts," and before we take up the history of the Twentieth Michigan

Infantry,—and we may as well say here, parenthetically, that as Michigan had no other Twentieth Regiment, we shall speak of it simply as the “Twentieth Michigan”—it is proper and desirable to give some brief account of the recruiting and organizing of the several constituent companies.

COMPANY A.

On July 23, 1862, William Huntington Smith, a citizen of Adrian in the first congressional district, but temporarily residing at Lansing as Deputy Auditor General, was commissioned by Governor Blair as second lieutenant and recruiting officer, and authorized to recruit a company in Ingham county. He associated with him, William A. Dewey, who was engaged in recruiting at Leslie, as second lieutenant and Darius C. Calkins as first lieutenant. Lieutenant Calkins had seen some service, having been commissioned in August, 1861, as second lieutenant of Company B, Second U. S. Sharpshooters. On the muster of the regiment, August 19, 1862, Captain Smith was commissioned and mustered as Major and Lieutenant Calkins was promoted and mustered as Captain of Company A, while Dewey was advanced to first lieutenant. The recruiting of the company went on very slowly until August 9, when a special effort was made in Lansing, and so many enlisted—mostly out of the state departments—that the company was filled and the following non-commissioned officers were appointed, namely:

Sergeants.

First Sergeant—William A. Barnard.
Second Sergeant—William M. Green.
Third Sergeant—Benjamin H. Berry.
Fourth Sergeant—James M. Howland.
Fifth Sergeant—Schuyler F. Seager.

Corporals.

First Corporal—Henry B. Carpenter.
Second Corporal—Albert E. Cowles.
Third Corporal—E. Golden Filer.
Fourth Corporal—Henry E. Hinkley.
Fifth Corporal—Leonard C. Rice.
Sixth Corporal—Thos. H. B. Morehouse.
Seventh Corporal—Harmon W. Paddleford.

On the promotion of Captain Smith to major, Sergeant B. H. Berry was promoted to second lieutenant, and each of the sergeants below him and the corporals were raised one file. As so organized, the company went into camp at Jackson.

COMPANY B.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 15th of July, 1862, Governor Austin Blair issued his proclamation calling for Michigan's quota of the 300,000 called out

by the proclamation of President Lincoln, July 1. On the same morning, Byron M. Cutcheon was duly commissioned and mustered as second lieutenant and recruiting officer to raise a company for the Twentieth Michigan, his station being at Ypsilanti, where he had been engaged as principal of the high school of the Union Seminary. The same day he entered on his duties as recruiting officer, opening an office in Hewitt's block, Ypsilanti. During the previous year he had organized a company among the boys of the Union Seminary, which he had drilled in the foot movements, but without arms.

Among those who had been under his instruction were Charles T. Allen, of Sharon, and Samuel H. Row, also of Sharon. Allen had enlisted and served in the First Michigan (3 months) regiment, as corporal of Company D ("Manchester Union Guard"). These two undertook to assist in recruiting the company (which became "Company B") and immediately set about recruiting at and about Manchester and Sharon and adjoining towns, with excellent success.

Among those who had been connected with the "Ypsilanti Light Guard" was Alfred A. Van Cleve, one of the best drilled men in the guard. To him was offered the position of second lieutenant; to Charles T. Allen that of first lieutenant, and to Samuel H. Row that of orderly sergeant. Van Cleve was not to do any active recruiting; but to take charge of the recruits as fast as they assembled, and put them at once under drill and prepare them to go to the regimental rendezvous. On Saturday, the 19th of July, a mass meeting was held at Hewitt's hall, and a bonus of \$10.00 to each man was offered by citizens of Ypsilanti to all who would enlist from that town in the company. This promoted enlistments, so that by the 26th, orders were issued to proceed to camp at Jackson. Lieutenant Allen and Orderly Row proceeded directly from Manchester to Jackson with their enlisted men, while Captain Cutcheon and Lieutenant Van Cleve with the recruits assembled at Ypsilanti moved by the Michigan Central to the same place.*

One other company had been to camp and had returned home again, but Company B was the first company to report at the rendezvous to remain permanently. The company took to camp something more than a full quota of men, and several of the men enlisted in Company B were assigned for muster to other companies, which were deficient. The non-commissioned (or warrant) officers were as follows:

Sergeants.

Orderly Sergeant—Samuel H. Row, (aged 22) Sharon.
Second Sergeant—Prescott M. Skinner, Ypsilanti.
Third Sergeant—Reuben E. Manning, Salem.
Fourth Sergeant—John Thoms, Ypsilanti.
Fifth Sergeant—John E. Irwin, Sharon.

Corporals.

First Corporal—John W. Wise, Ypsilanti.
Second Corporal—J. K. Morse, Sharon.
Third Corporal—J. D. Norris, Manchester.
Fourth Corporal—Oscar McLouth, Augusta.
Fifth Corporal—William G. Shipman, Ypsilanti.
Sixth Corporal—Lafayette A. Baker, Ypsilanti.
Seventh Corporal—Henry M. Mellincamp, Sharon.
Eighth Corporal—Theodore L. Thompson, Ypsilanti.

COMPANY C.

Among those commissioned by Governor Blair in the latter part of July, 1862, as second lieutenant and recruiting officer to raise a company for the Twentieth Michigan, was Geo. C. Barnes of Battle Creek.

Lieutenant Barnes had been a sergeant in "Merrill's Horse" (2d Mo. Cav.), and he associated with him in recruiting Company C, Jos. H. Weeks, as first lieutenant, and Charles J. Brown, as second lieutenant.

Together these three recruited the company and on the day before it was to go into camp an election was held which resulted in the selection of Barnes as captain, Weeks as first lieutenant and Brown as second lieutenant. The commissions of these officers all date from July 29, 1862, although the company was not regularly organized until later. The officers and non-commissioned officers of Company C were as follows:

Captain—George C. Barnes, Battle Creek.
First Lieutenant—Jos. C. Weeks, Battle Creek.
Second Lieutenant—Charles J. Brown, Battle Creek.

Sergeants.

First Sergeant—George B. Hicks.
Second Sergeant—Adrian C. White.
Third Sergeant—David Bidwell.
Fourth Sergeant—Albert G. Barney.
Fifth Sergeant—Walter H. Chadwick.

Corporals.

First Corporal—Alfred A. Ellsworth.
Second Corporal—Eugene T. Freeman.
Third Corporal—Ira W. Hulbert.
Fourth Corporal—Andrew Knight.
Fifth Corporal—George M. Cowles.
Sixth Corporal—Aaron L. Stiles.
Seventh Corporal—Chas. B. Williams.
Eighth Corporal—

COMPANY D.

About July 25, 1862, Claudius B. Grant, of Ann Arbor, then principal of the high school of that city, a graduate of the University of Michigan, received a commission from Governor Blair to recruit a company for the Twentieth Michigan. His connection with the high school and the university made him familiar with many young men of a class very suitable for good officers and non-commissioned officers.

About the 29th of July he opened a recruiting office in Ann Arbor, in the one story wooden building next west of Cook's Hotel, and fronting the court house square. Captain Grant associated with him in raising his company Roswell P. Carpenter, a graduate of the University of Michigan, in the class of 1862, as first lieutenant, and David E. Ainsworth, an under-graduate of the university, as second lieutenant. Oliver Blood, of Dexter, had been engaged in recruiting in that village, and added quite a number of men to the company from that locality. Charles W. Maynard of Ann Arbor, commenced recruiting at Onondaga, Ingham county, and added nearly a dozen men from that vicinity. The men of this company were mostly enlisted from Ann Arbor, Dexter and Onondaga.

About August 15, the company assembled and proceeded to the rendezvous at Jackson. It was organized as follows:

Captain—Claudius B. Grant.
First Lieutenant—Roswell P. Carpenter.
Second Lieutenant—David E. Ainsworth.
All of Ann Arbor.

Sergeants.

Orderly Sergeant—Oliver Blood, Dexter.
Second Sergeant—R. D. Buchanan, Ann Arbor.
Third Sergeant—George B. Felch, Ann Arbor.
Fourth Sergeant—N. A. Parker, Ann Arbor.
Fifth Sergeant—Charles W. Maynard, Ann Arbor.

Corporals.

First Corporal—John Donovan.
Second Corporal—William N. Steele.

Third Corporal—Joseph G. Price.
Fourth Corporal—Eban H. Crofut.
Fifth Corporal—Anselmo R. Morris.
Sixth Corporal—John W. Johnston.
Seventh Corporal—Norman D. Gates.
Eighth Corporal—Abram Romig.

Of the non-commissioned officers Sergeants Blood and Parker were promoted to first lieutenant and captain of Company D, and Sergeant Maynard to first lieutenant of Company C.

COMPANY E.

This company was raised at Parma and vicinity, mainly through the efforts of Francis Porter, who with a team, carrying a fifer and a drummer and a speaker, drove through the country, holding "war meetings" at the hamlets and cross-roads.

The necessary number of men were recruited within the allotted time.
The following were the commissioned officers:

Captain—John Anderson, Parma.
First Lieutenant—Francis Porter, Parma.
Second Lieutenant—Albert P. Merrill.

The latter was duly commissioned July 29, 1862, but never mustered.

In January, 1863, James B. Goold, who had mustered with the company as orderly sergeant, was promoted to second lieutenant.

The following were the original non-commissioned officers, as given in the official records:

First Sergeant—James B. Goold.
Second Sergeant—M. L. Bridenetine.
Third Sergeant—Eben Howard.
Fourth Sergeant—William A. Ross.
Fifth Sergeant—

Corporals.

First Corporal—Theron E. Carpenter.
Second Corporal—Darwin Farnam.
Third Corporal—Frank A. Fassett.
Fourth Corporal—Henry E. Hughson.
Fifth Corporal—Charles C. Hungerford.
Sixth Corporal—John Salisbury.
Seventh Corporal—William H. Showers.
Eighth Corporal—Jay C. Southworth.

COMPANY F.

About the 20th of July, 1862, Rev. Silas P. Warner, of Grass Lake, Jackson county, a minister of the M. E. church, was authorized to recruit a company for the Twentieth Michigan. He associated with himself, in raising the company, Joshua B. Leeland, of Northfield, as first lieutenant and Wesley L. Robinson, of Waterloo, as second lieutenant.

The men of Company F came mostly from the above named localities, but a considerable number came from the adjoining towns of Washtenaw county, especially Sharon, Sylvan and Linden. The company went to the rendezvous on the — day of August, with the following named non-commissioned officers:

First Sergeant—J. R. Mowry.

Second Sergeant—Bryon R. Porter.

Third Sergeant—F. H. Halbert.

Fourth Sergeant—E. M. Adams.

Fifth Sergeant—Wm. H. Warner.

Corporals.

First Corporal—George Cook.

Second Corporal—Albert B. Taylor.

Third Corporal—Halsey B. Jenks.

Fourth Corporal—Alexander Bush.

Fifth Corporal—Calvin Becker.

Sixth Corporal—Hiram B. High.

Seventh Corporal—Brayton G. Webster.

Eighth Corporal—Harland P. Gardner.

Of these non-commissioned officers the following were afterward commissioned: Mowry, Porter, Adams, Taylor and Bush.

COMPANY G.

About June 15, 1862, Luke B. Willis, of Eaton Rapids, Eaton County, was commissioned by the Governor and authorized to recruit a company for the Seventeenth Michigan, then forming at Detroit. The call for the 300,000, July 1, hastened the completion of the 17th, before the company was ready. Eaton Rapids falling within the limits of the third congressional district, the company so authorized was assigned to the Twentieth Michigan. John S. Montgomery, of Eaton Rapids, assisted in recruiting around that point, and Peter Kauffman, of Charlotte, recruited there. Willis was commissioned as captain; Montgomery as first lieutenant and Kauffman as second lieutenant. It is claimed, and probably correctly, that this company was the first organized which visited the camp at Jackson; but it was only a temporary visit, and the men again returned to their homes. About the beginning of the second week of August, they went to camp to remain. The non-commissioned officers of Company G were as follows:

First Sergeant—Solomon Hollister.
Second Sergeant—George Trusler.
Third Sergeant—Nelson O. Merritt.
Fourth Sergeant—John Graham.
Fifth Sergeant—Ebenezer D. Speer.

Corporals.

First Corporal—Leonard Allis.
Second Corporal—Merton A. Bell.
Third Corporal—William G. Campbell.
Fourth Corporal—Levi M. Conley.
Fifth Corporal—Henry F. Higgins.
Sixth Corporal—George McGlockin.
Seventh Corporal—William Poynter.
Eighth Corporal—Benjamin H. Skinner.

COMPANY H.

About the last day of July, 1862, Wendell D. Wiltsie, a graduate of the law school at Ann Arbor, and a resident there, received authority to recruit a company for the Twentieth Michigan, and was commissioned captain. He was at the time printing a small local paper at Ypsilanti and operating a job printing office in connection therewith. With him was associated, Edward P. Pitkin of the class of 1859 of the University of Michigan, who had received some military drill while in the university, commissioned first lieutenant, and Walter McCollum of Lodi, a graduate of the university in the class of 1861, and at the time of enlistment a member of the law department at Ann Arbor, who was commissioned second lieutenant. This company was entirely officered by university men. It was recruited chiefly at Ann Arbor and Lodi. Recruiting began August 8, and on August 18 the company went to camp with 110 men. This was one of the last companies to arrive, and the next day, August 19, the regiment was mustered, as a whole, into the United States service. The non-commissioned officers of this company, at organization, were as follows:

Sergeants.

Orderly Sergeant—Horace V. Knight.
Second Sergeant—Frank Kingsley.
Third Sergeant—Frank E. Lansing.
Fourth Sergeant—Daniel Sheehan Jr.
Fifth Sergeant—David C. Holmes.

Corporals.

First Corporal—William Boston.
Second Corporal—Ira G. Betts.
Third Corporal—Abram C. Voorhees.

Fourth Corporal—James A. Dell.
Fifth Corporal—Martin Comstock.
Sixth Corporal—Peter J. Montgomery.
Seventh Corporal—Cornelius Lyons.
Eighth Corporal—Charles H. Wood.
Musician—David J. Durand.

COMPANY I.

On July 22, 1862, George W. Bullis, then of Marshall, Calhoun county, was commissioned second lieutenant, and authorized to recruit a company for the Twentieth Michigan. His company, known as "The Marshall Company," afterward became Company I.

Lieutenant Bullis had been an attorney in the office of D. Darwin Hughes, and had no experience in military command. He interested with him in recruiting the company Mr. Charles C. Dodge, then foreman in the shops of the Michigan Central Railroad Company at Marshall, who had been connected with the local company, and Josiah T. Hammond, of Tekonsha, in the same county.

When the company was recruited Lieutenant Bullis voluntarily yielded the place of captain to Charles C. Dodge, was himself commissioned first lieutenant, while J. T. Hammond was commissioned and mustered as second lieutenant.

The orderly sergeant of Company I was Clement A. Lounsberry, who enlisted at Marengo, August 9, 1862. He had seen service as a private in the old First Michigan Infantry (three months' regiment) had been wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861. He was taken to Richmond as a prisoner with Colonel O. B. Willeox, of his own regiment, and was there able to gain the warm and lasting friendship of that officer. Sergeant Lounsberry rose through all the grades, until March 11, 1865, he was commissioned colonel, and came home in command of the regiment, with the full rank of lieutenant colonel, by muster into the United States service. He was the most notable case of rise from the ranks that occurred in the Twentieth Michigan. The other sergeants at the organization of the company were as follows:

Second Sergeant—Orange F. Acker.
Third Sergeant—Charles H. Mench.
Fourth Sergeant—Nathan P. Parker.
Fifth Sergeant—Charles B. Smith.

Corporals.

First Corporal—Andrew H. Cleveland.
Second Corporal—Robert W. Davison.
Third Corporal—Abram Hasbrook.
Fourth Corporal—Peter Nover.
Fifth Corporal—John W. Sammons.
Sixth Corporal—Theodore C. Saulsbury.

Seventh Corporal—John E. Smith.

Eighth Corporal—Eugene E. Stone.

COMPANY K.

Near the end of July, 1862, a movement was started to raise a company for the Twentieth Michigan at Chelsea. Prominent in the movement were those who afterward became the officers and sergeants; yet no one was especially pre-eminent. By united and zealous work the requisite number were enlisted, and about the middle of August they reported at the camp at Jackson, with the following officers and non-commissioned officers.

Captain—Elijah Hammond, Chelsea.

First Lieutenant—Silas L. Sergeant, Chelsea.

Second Lieutenant—Clarence L. Whedon, Chelsea.

Sergeants.

First Sergeant—Joseph M. Yocum.

Second Sergeant—Homer Spencer.

Third Sergeant—Orin K. Brommell.

Fourth Sergeant—Roswell M. Knapp.

Fifth Sergeant—James S. Spencer.

Corporals.

First Corporal—John LeBaron.

Second Corporal—Oliver N. Allyn.

Third Corporal—William Yocum.

Fourth Corporal—Charles A. Wallace.

Fifth Corporal—John W. Smith.

Sixth Corporal—Forbes Spencer.

Seventh Corporal—Andrew F. Bott.

Eighth Corporal—George H. Ewing.

In this company the lists of sergeants and corporals on file in the Adjutant General's office are imperfect, and the deficiencies have been supplied from the best data that could be obtained from survivors of the company. This completes the data which we have been able to obtain as to the recruiting of the several companies, and will suffice to show the beginning of the regiment.

CHAPTER II.

THE RENDEZVOUS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE REGIMENT.

August 18, 1862.

September 1, 1862.

The Field and Staff—Original Line Officers.

By the 18th of August, 1862, the ten companies assigned to the regiment had all reached the rendezvous at Jackson, and had settled down to camp life. On the next day, the 19th, the regiment as a whole was mustered into the service of the United States by Captain Meyer of the United States Regular Army. The camp of the regiment was on the "Marvin Farm" about half a mile outside the city of Jackson, on the Lansing road.

The Honorable Fidas Livermore, of Jackson, had been appointed by Governor Blair as "Commandant of Camp" until the regimental officers should be appointed, and the regiment organized and mustered into service. By the 19th of August everything was in readiness for muster. Clothing and arms had been issued, and when the regiment was for the first time drawn up in line, more than a thousand strong, it made, indeed, a striking and imposing appearance. From that day forward we were not a mere aggregation of companies, but the TWENTIETH MICHIGAN REGIMENT, duly sworn into the service of the United States, for three years or the war.

As we have already noticed the organization of the several companies, it will now be in order to give some account of the regimental officers who first commanded and cared for it, and who went with it to the seat of war.

THE FIELD AND STAFF.

At the muster into service of the Twentieth Michigan, it was commanded by Colonel ADOLPHUS W. WILLIAMS, of Lansing. Colonel Williams entered the service April, 1861, as major of the Second Michigan Infantry, and was promoted to be lieutenant colonel of that regiment, March 6, 1862.

He was slightly wounded at the battle of Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862, and was still on surgeon's leave of absence when the call came for the Twentieth Michigan; and, as the territory from which the regiment was to be raised included Lansing, his place of residence, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the new regiment. He continued to command the regiment until about March 19, 1863, when he was granted a leave of absence on account of ill health. He rejoined for a few days in the latter part of April following, at Lebanon, Kentucky; but his ill health continuing, he was placed upon detached duty at Louisville and Cincinnati.

He last visited the regiment, then under the command of Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith, at Columbia, Kentucky, about April 30, 1863. He was honorably discharged for disability, November 21, 1863. After the close of the war he received the brevet commission of brigadier general, "for gallant and meritorious service during the war." Colonel Williams died at La Canada, Cal., March 11, 1879, aged 49 years.

It may be interesting to here record that Governor Blair first tendered the colonelcy of the Twentieth Michigan to Captain William H. Withington, afterward colonel of the Seventeenth, and it was accepted by him; and it is believed that the commission was actually made out.

Colonel A. W. Williams was to have been colonel of the Seventeenth. Among the officers of the Seventeenth were a number who had served with Withington in the old first regiment (three months) and who desired Colonel Withington for their regiment. It was through their efforts that Colonel Withington was commissioned as colonel of the Seventeenth, and Colonel Williams as colonel of the Twentieth.

W. H. WITHINGTON was mustered as captain of Company B, of the First Michigan Regiment, May 1, 1861, and served with distinction until he was captured at the battle of Bull Run, Va., July 21, 1861. He was retained in rebel prison as a prisoner of war until January 30, 1862, when he was exchanged, and the next day was mustered out. He remained in civil life until in July, 1862, he was appointed colonel of the Twentieth Michigan. On August 11, following, he was mustered as colonel of the Seventeenth Regiment. He died at Jackson, Mich., June 27, 1903.

The officer selected as the original lieutenant colonel of the regiment, was RUSSELL H. ALCOTT, of Manchester, Washtenaw county, he was duly commissioned as such, but did not live to be mustered in. He entered the service August 17, 1861, as first lieutenant in the First (three years) Michigan Regiment; was promoted to captain, November 18, 1861, and commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, Twentieth Michigan, August 25, 1862. His commission was entrusted to Colonel Williams to be delivered to him on arrival in Washington, but when the regiment reached the capital, Colonel Alcott had been killed in action at the battle of Bull Run (or Groveton) Va., on August 30, 1862. Unfortunately the name of this gallant officer does not appear in connection with the Twentieth Michigan in the record in "Michigan in the War." By his death the regiment lost one who would have been an honor to the command.

W. HUNTINGTON SMITH, of Adrian, but temporarily residing at Lansing as Deputy Auditor General of Michigan, was the first major of the regiment, and mustered as such, August 19, 1862, and went to the front in that capacity. He had originally recruited the Lansing company, which, being Colonel Williams' home company, was made Company A.

By the death of Lieutenant Colonel Alcott, August 30, 1862, a vacancy was created in that grade, to which Major Smith was promoted, October 14, 1862,—that was the date of his commission, though he did not muster as such until after the regiment arrived at Falmouth, Va., opposite Fredericksburg, November 19, 1862. He served as lieutenant colonel from his muster in until his death;

commanded the regiment, as acting colonel, from the time we reached Kentucky, March 26, 1863, until he was killed in action at Campbell's Station, Tennessee, November 16, 1863, except during a brief leave of absence after the regiment returned from the Vicksburg campaign.

The first surgeon of the regiment was DR. SIMEON S. FRENCH, of Battle Creek, but he did not join the command until it reached Waterford, Va., the first week of November, 1862. Meanwhile the regiment was in the medical charge of the assistant surgeons.

Dr. French had been appointed assistant surgeon of the Sixth Michigan Infantry, August 19, 1861, and served with that regiment in the Department of the Gulf until his promotion to be surgeon of the Twentieth Michigan. Commissioned on July 29, it was some some months before he reported to the regiment, as above stated.

He remained on duty with the regiment as surgeon until his resignation, July 21, 1864, except during the periods when he was serving as surgeon of the brigade. The assistant surgeon at the organization of the regiment was WILLIAM H. PAINE, of Eaton Rapids. During the period from the time when the regiment assembled at Jackson, about August 1, until the arrival of Surgeon French, about November 1, 1862, Dr. Paine acted as surgeon in charge of the regiment.

He died on board the steamer Westmorland, on the trip up the Mississippi river, after the Vicksburg campaign, on August 5, 1863.

ORAMEL L. RIDER, of Norvell, was the second assistant surgeon, and he resigned on account of ill health in May, 1863, and was honorably discharged.

The first, last and only Chaplain of the regiment was REV. JOSEPH JONES of Charlotte, Eaton county. He was commissioned August 30, 1862, just before the regiment started for the front, and resigned May 17, 1865, just before the muster out of the organization.

The original adjutant was HIRAM S. WARNER, of Marshall. He had served as lieutenant and captain in the First Michigan Infantry both in the three months regiment and the three years organization.

He resigned from that regiment January 16, 1862, and was commissioned first lieutenant and adjutant in the Twentieth Michigan, July 29, 1862. On the resignation of Quartermaster Dwight, February 24, 1863, he was commissioned as first lieutenant and quartermaster and served in that capacity until honorably discharged for disability, July 20, 1864.

JAMES A. DWIGHT, of Ypsilanti, was the first quartermaster. He was without previous military experience, and his place was a very difficult one for one in his situation. He resigned and was mustered out at Newport News, February 5, 1863.

This completes the sketch of the original "field and staff" officers under whom the regiment went to the field and served until it reached Fredericksburg, Virginia. The original company officers have been given in connection with the organization of their respective companies.

The records of these and all other officers of the regiment, as compiled from the official records in "Michigan in the War" and other sources, will be found in the appendix.

CHAPTER III.

GOING TO "THE FRONT"—THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN.

September 1, 1862.

September 24, 1862.

The regiment having been armed, uniformed and mustered in, now expected to be ordered to the front. The days of waiting were occupied with drills and parades. This waiting was utilized to grant many, both officers and men, a furlough to go home and make final arrangements for leaving and take a last good by of friends. Many friends and relatives also visited the regiment in the camp, and the days were filled with work and excitement. At last the order came that the regiment should be ready to move to Washington on Monday, September 1. The day came, and bright and early the camp was astir, but there were many last things to be attended to and it was near noon when at last the regiment in heavy marching order, with three days' rations, moved to the Michigan Central railroad station and filled the long trains to proceed to Detroit. The streets were packed with an eager and tumultuous crowd who cheered and shouted good-byes, as we marched away from that scene to which so small a part of those brave young fellows were ever to return.

Of course all knew that many would never come back, but each hoped to be among the fortunate ones, and youth and hope and enthusiasm buoyed them up and sent them out to war with apparently light hearts and cheerful courage.

It was past the middle of the afternoon when we rolled into the Michigan Central depot in Detroit, and before embarking on the steamer for Cleveland, we were formed and marched several miles through some of the principal streets of the city, where again the regiment was cheered and bid Godspeed by all classes and conditions of men.

That evening the regiment went on board the Cleveland boat, and sometime about 10 o'clock, swung off from the Michigan shore and sailed down the broad Detroit river, and out into Lake Erie.

Soon after daybreak of September 2, we came in sight of Cleveland, and in the course of the morning had disembarked and were transferred to the waiting trains on the Cleveland and Pittsburg railroad. All that day, as we sped along across the state of Ohio, we were cheered on our way, and at night reached Pittsburg, where the regiment was conducted to a great dining hall where we were given an excellent supper and a most cordial welcome by the patriotic and generous-hearted citizens of Pittsburg.

That evening we started over the mountains, the trains being made up in several sections. That night and the next day passed without any notable incident, and toward evening of the 3rd, we reached Baltimore, where we had to

march across the city, from the Pennsylvania station to the Baltimore & Ohio depot.

We found that the latter had just been burned, with a great quantity of stores and material which it contained. The ruins were still smoking, and guards were posted all around to protect the property which had not been consumed. Everything was in confusion; no cars were in readiness to take us to the capital, and so most of the men spread their blankets along the sidewalks and lay down upon the brick pavements for their first night's sleep in Dixie.

Some time in the night the men were loaded into cattle cars—not at all too clean or sweet,—and the morning found us on our way to Washington, and the road blocked in front with a great congestion of trains, all bound for the same destination. At that time there was only one single track road connecting Baltimore and Washington, instead of two commodious double track roads, as now. Many of the men, who could not endure being crowded into the foul cattle cars, had climbed upon the roofs of the cars where they could at least enjoy the free air of heaven and see the country. This day was not without incident. Beyond the Relay House we were delayed for a long time. On the train just ahead of us were some companies of zouaves from Philadelphia. They were a lawless lot of hoodlums and committed some acts of vandalism. A barn was set on fire and burned, and the rights of property were not respected as they ought to have been. They evidently thought they were in the "enemy's country."

It was late in the afternoon of September 4, 1862, when the great, unfinished dome of the national capitol loomed into view, and the boys from one end of the train to the other gave it a lusty cheer. Our trains came to a stop at the Baltimore & Ohio depot, just north of and almost in the shadow of the capitol.

The arrival of a new regiment was at this time too common an event to attract much attention. But we were cordially received and conducted to a long, low, one-story building near by, called "The Soldiers Rest," and here we were provided with a bountiful meal of boiled beef, soft bread, and black coffee; but a good appetite supplied the lack of delicate viands, and the regiment enjoyed the feast. Then we were marched past the capitol and up Pennsylvania avenue to Seventh street, and thence by Virginia avenue to Long Bridge, across the Potomac river, and to the sacred soil of Virginia, on the Arlington estate back of the range of hills on which stands the Arlington House, the former home of the Lee family.

The sun was near its setting when we crossed Long Bridge, and as we did so we met a regiment of cavalry just in from the front, and now moving over to the camp on the Maryland side, as General Lee was expected to soon attempt the crossing of the Potomac.

These troops were a tough looking lot, dusty, dirty and bronzed with exposure. They were just out of a most arduous and trying campaign, in which they had been severely handled. They appeared to be somewhat demoralized. They were covered so thickly with the dust of the march that it would have been impossible to tell the original color of men or uniforms. Our uniforms, on the other hand, were quite new and clean, a fact which they quickly recog-

nized and interpreted. They buried us deep in clouds of dust, and as they did so greeted us with jests and jibes. Our men had very large and full knapsacks. These, we heard for the first time, called "Government Bureaus." They cautioned us that Stonewall Jackson would get those "bureaus." They all seemed to have "Stonewall Jackson on the brain," and with good reason. Following a road that passed close under the walls of "Fort Runyon" and wound around and over Arlington Hill, in a valley looking to the west and south, about half or three-fourths of a mile from what is now Arlington National Cemetery, we found our first camping place on the "sacred soil" of Virginia.

Here we were, for the first time, literally "in the field." We bivouacked that night with only the canopy of heaven above us and the not too soft bosom of Mother Earth beneath us.

Bright and early the next morning the bugle sounded the reveille, and the men were roused from their slumbers in their roomy sleeping quarters, and having made their toilets at a small brook that flowed down through the little valley, we had breakfast—the remnant of our cooked rations, if we were fortunate enough to have any,—and then fell into line.

We were ordered to stack our arms and pile knapsacks and march with blankets only. The officers of the regiment were informed privately that we were to march out to the battle field of Bull Run as a fatigue party, to bury the dead of the battles of August 29 and 30, as yet unburied, but for some reason the order was fortunately countermanded, for which we were most devoutly thankful, and instead, we were started toward Alexandria, with all our "traps."

We had neither tents nor wagons, commissary nor quartermaster's supplies. On the road to Alexandria we met more troops moving toward Washington,—artillery, cavalry and infantry—an endless procession, and we received the full benefit of the endless clouds of dust they raised.

The march was very trying upon our men, not accustomed to such experiences, and when Alexandria was reached a great rush was made for the bakeries and other places where food could be had, as the most of the men had had little or no breakfast.

The command halted for an hour in the southern outskirts of the city, while the colonel and quartermaster skirmished around the city for something to serve the purpose of rations. After a while two wagon loads of baker's bread were brought out and served to nearly a thousand men. Without meat or butter it was a pretty dry ration, but better than none.

We crossed a wide arm of the Potomac which comes in just south of Alexandria, and passed up into a little hollow at the western foot of the hill on which stood—and perhaps still stands—Fort Lyon, and there we made our camp as best we could.

There was a small cluster of houses near by, but no other troops were nearer than the fort. Here, without tents or shelter, or regular commissary, the men suffered greatly. They had not yet learned how to make the best of things. A good many got sick here from exposure and improper diet, and were left behind, and some never again rejoined. This was the famous "Cow Hollow," so celebrated in the annals of the regiment from the attack made upon a cow

which, one night innocently strayed into the camp. It was after dark when the fusilade began, and General Joe Hooker, who was in command on that part of the line, supposed that the rebels were making a dash to turn his left. The long roll beat, the troops around Fort Lyons stood to arms, and General Hooker sent an aide to ascertain the cause of the firing, and when he learned it, it is said that the air around headquarters was pretty blue for a long time afterward.

We arrived at Fort Lyon on September 5th and on the 6th the first order was issued from headquarters affecting this regiment.

The order was as follows:

Headquarters, Washington, September 6, 1862

Special Orders No. 3.

The following mentioned new regiments are distributed as hereinafter indicated and will proceed forthwith to join their respective corps and stations, viz.:

* * * * *

Seventeenth Michigan.

Twentieth Michigan.

* * * * *

Burnside's Corps at Leesborough, 6 miles out of Seventh street.

By command of Major-General McClellan.

* * * * *

S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant General.

This is the first mention of the Twentieth Michigan found in the official record of the War of the Rebellion.

It may be found in Vol. XIX, part 2, page 197.

On September 8, 1862, we left Fort Lyon and "Cow Hollow" behind us, under orders to proceed to Washington arsenal to draw and issue ammunition. We had marched through Alexandria and perhaps two miles beyond, when we were halted and countermarched to the city, to the steamboat dock on the Potomac, where we took a steamer which landed us in Washington not far from the barracks, near the foot of Seventh street.

At the arsenal, or barracks, we found the Seventeenth Michigan and the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, the latter like ourselves a new regiment which arrived in Washington on the same day that we did.

We bivouacked that night in the arsenal grounds.

Most of the survivors of the regiment will recall to mind the trip up the Potomac from Alexandria, and the smart sutler who had "champaign cider" to sell and who did not want to take "Yankee money," and was loaded up with "Michigan money" to his heart's content.

On the ninth of September the Seventeenth Michigan was supplied with ammunition and started in pursuance to orders to join the Ninth Army Corps near Leesboro, Maryland, (they actually joined the tenth).

The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts came next, and they, too, were supplied and

*Leesboro.

marched away on the ninth before night set in. It was during this day that our regiment lost its first man. While we lay in the arsenal ground a shot was fired from a neighboring corn field which killed William H. Dixon, a member of Company A. This was the first death in the regiment. Pursuit was made but the assassin escaped, though his horse was captured, and was used by Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith as long as he lived.

It was after dark on the ninth of September (Tuesday) when it came the turn of the Twentieth to receive its ammunition, and it was late that night when we took up our line of march to overtake the the army then advancing through Maryland, to meet General Lee who was marching on Frederick.

It was after midnight, and a dark night, when we marched out Seventh street, and, leaving the silent city behind, passed through the encircling line of forts and so out into the country to the northward of Washington, and passing through the hamlet of Leesboro at some time after sunrise, we camped some two or three miles beyond on a farm belonging to a man by the name of Dodge, from which circumstance it was usually known as "Camp Dodge."

The regiment was still without tents or wagons. Many of the men were without overcoats, and, because of the lack of wagons, without adequate or proper rations.

Colonel Williams was going back and forth to Washington every day endeavoring to secure wagons and tents, but with only partial success.

The trouble was that we were attached to no large body of troops, although assigned to the first division, Ninth Army Corps, and, therefore, there was no staff department to look after our wants.

Quartermaster Dwight was wholly unequal to the occasion. Looking back now to those first weeks in the field, it seems a wonder that all the men did not get sick and that more did not die. After a few days Colonel Williams secured a partial supply of "A" tents, which we had to leave behind when we moved forward from there.

The regiment remained at this camp from September 10 to September 18, when we received imperative orders to move forward and join the division then near Sharpsburg, on the Antietam battle ground. Although we had been assigned to General O. B. Willcox's division of the ninth corps, on the sixth, most of us did not know it until some time afterward.

While here at Camp Dodge or "Camp Starvation," as it was also called by the soldiers, we employed the time in drilling, and really made good and valuable use of the time.

It was while we waited here that the great battles of South Mountain and Antietam (or Sharpsburg) were fought, in which our division took conspicuous and bloody part. We could distinctly hear the guns of both these battles, at South Mountain on the fourteenth and at Antietam on the seventeenth, and knew that our comrades of the Seventeenth Michigan were engaged. In fact we afterward learned that they greatly distinguished themselves and gained the title of the "Stonewall Regiment."

Had we drawn our ammunition on the eighth, as they did, we would have been

in these battles also, but fate, or Providence, preserved us then that we might render better service in the next two years.

Before the close of the war we had all the fighting we wanted, and had no reason to regret that we did not share the bloody baptism of our comrades of the Seventeenth at South Mountain.

On Thursday morning, the eighteenth of September we broke up our camp at the Dodge farm and took up our line of march for Sharpsburg.

We were an independent command in the field, and our colonel decided our line of march, selecting the camping grounds and the hour for starting in the morning. Our route took us via Rockville, Middlebrook, New Market and Monocacy Bridge.

On the evening of Saturday, the twentieth, we entered and passed through the city of Frederick, which only a few days before had been occupied by General Lee's army. We bivouacked that night about two miles west of the city, on the road toward Middletown, and there, in the midst of green fields, we spent Sunday, the twenty-first, as a day of rest. During the day we received rations.

In good season on the morning of Monday, the twenty-second, we were on the road, and that afternoon passed through the pleasant village of Middletown and encamped that night at the eastern foot of South Mountain, and on the edge of the battle field of September fourteenth.

We saw many recent graves beside the road and along the mountain side, and everywhere were the signs and the scars of battle.

At Middletown the churches and all other available buildings were converted into hospitals. We crossed the mountains before noon of the twenty-third and passed through Boonsboro, where the cavalry had an engagement a few days before, descended the western slope of South Mountain to the village of Keedysville, which was one continuous hospital, and crossing the Antietam river or creek at the middle stone bridge, by the middle of the afternoon we passed across a portion of the battle field and entered the village of Sharpsburg.

On the hills on the east side of Antietam Creek, where there was a wide outlook over the country to the west, we passed the headquarters of General George B. McClellan, commanding the army, and the corps of General Fitz John Porter, which had been held in reserve on the day of the battle. The principal part of the battle had raged in the open country to the northward of Sharpsburg, the Confederate line extending from Antietam Creek on their right to the Potomac river on their left, above Sharpsburg and in the direction of Williamsport; but the attack of the ninth corps had been made across the lower stone bridge, south and east of the village (and in the rear of the Confederate right), afterward known as the "Burnside Bridge."

General Lee's artillery had been posted—especially the heavy batteries—on the hills encircling Sharpsburg, and commanded the approaches from the east side of the bridge.

General Wilcox was at the time in command of the division, Burnside being in command of the corps.

This was our division, to which we had been assigned since the sixth, and but

for the delay at the Washington arsenal we would have been in the thick of this fight. We did not pass over that part of the field where our division fought, but after waiting two or three hours in the north part of the village, the colonel ascertained where our division was located along the banks of the Potomac river, about two miles south and west from the village of Sharpsburg, and just at evening of the twenty-third of September, 1862, we bivouacked in a fine oak grove, in touch with the brigade to which we had been assigned.

The next day, September twenty-fourth, we reported to division headquarters and were attached to the first brigade. The brigade was commanded by Colonel Benjamin C. Christ of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, and consisted of the following regiments, viz.: Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, Seventeenth Michigan and Seventy-ninth New York. To these was added the Twentieth Michigan, and here our solitary wanderings ended. Incorporated into our proper division and brigade, we became an integral part of the Army of the Potomac.

Hitherto it had been our fortune to hang upon the skirts of the army rather than to be a part of it. Henceforth we were to be a part of the fighting force rather than to follow in the trail of war, seeing much of its horrors and hardships, without participating in its glories. So endeth this chapter.

In the appendix will be found the official "itinerary" of the division from the time when it crossed Long Bridge, September fourth, the same night when we reached Washington, until the end of October. (See Appendix.)

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE POTOMAC—FREDERICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

September 24, 1862.

November 10, 1862.

Having been adopted into the family of the Army of the Potomac and incorporated into our proper corps, division and brigade, our history will henceforth be involved with that of the greater bodies of troops, from which it may be well nigh impossible to separate it. Frequently in order to understand the part taken by this regiment it will be necessary to give some part of the operations of not only our own brigade, but also at times of the division and corps, and to some extent of the army.

Nevertheless, it is not the purpose to make this a history of any body except the Twentieth Michigan Regiment.

There are plenty of standard histories of the War of the Rebellion which describes the various campaigns and battles in which we took part, in the most graphic and interesting manner, and to them we refer all who desire a history of those campaigns.

This story of the Twentieth Michigan will be written upon the assumption that the reader is reasonably familiar with those larger histories, and will be able to place our own brigade and regiment in its proper relation to the greater movements.

Occasionally it may be imperative to depart from this general principle, but it will be done only when it seems unavoidable.

With this explanation the thread of the story is resumed.

When the regiment reported to General O. B. Willecox, commanding the first division, on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth day of September, 1862, the ninth corps was encamped along the Potomac river south of the village of Sharpsburg, between that place and the mouth of Antietam creek. The fifth corps (Fitz John Porter's) was camped on the hills east of the Antietam, and the rest of the army was spread out along the river from Shepardstown above to Knoxville below Harper's Ferry.

General Lee with the army of Northern Virginia had been permitted by General McClellan to retire unmolested across the fords of the Potomac and to take possession of Harper's Ferry and Bolivar Heights back of that town, while the main body of his army was encamped at and near Halls town. The rebel pickets were posted along the south bank of the Potomac to observe and report any movement of the Union army, although hostile demonstrations were not frequent. We remained at the point where we joined the division only

two days, and, being without tents, many of the men built themselves shelters with brush and cornstalks from a field close by.

From this fact this camp was often called the "Cornstalk Camp."

On the 26th of September the division moved further south across the Antietam Creek and took post near the old Antietam Iron Works. It was here that the regiment performed its first picket duty in the presence of the enemy.

It was a twenty-four hours' tour, and our brigade line was posted along the dry bed of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, which ran along the north side of and parallel with the river. This was about the pleasantest picket duty we ever performed. There was no difficulty in having fires along the bed of the canal, and a house on the bank furnished pleasant headquarters. Now and then we could see the Confederate pickets on the opposite side, but no shots were exchanged. The scenery here was most picturesque.

Maryland Heights rose on our left, a few miles away; Elk Ridge formed a wall to the valley of the Antietam on the east.

While at this camp on September 27 a number of wagons came up from the rear bringing our regimental baggage, the medical stores and camp equipment, and officers' baggage, which had been left behind at Washington, Leesboro and Frederick.

Here, also, for the first time we received shelter tents, and some blankets and overcoats were issued to the men, so that from this time on we were properly equipped for taking the field; but much harm had been already done by the exposure and lack of proper shelter and rations, and many went to hospital who never returned to the regiment. The cost of their enlistment and transportation was worse than a dead loss to the government, for in many cases the men were permanently disabled and some of them have been drawing pensions ever since.

On October 1 President Lincoln came to visit the army and confer with General McClellan on plans for the future. There is no doubt now that the President was greatly dissatisfied with the failure of General McClellan to follow up his advantage after the battle of Antietam, and to attack Lee as he was recrossing the river. The President came in order to see for himself the condition of the army, and to be the better able to remedy any deficiencies in men or equipments that might exist.

On the 3d day of October the President reviewed the army, and after we had stood in line and waited patiently for several hours, we saw him as he rode along our line accompanied by General McClellan and his large and brilliant staff.

It is useless as it is needless to attempt to describe Abraham Lincoln. No figure in American history is more familiar to this generation. His long, lank figure, his homely face and awkward manner were not improved by his being mounted upon horseback. He rode a spirited and handsome dark charger, in height altogether disproportioned to President Lincoln's length of leg.

At times it seemed almost as if his feet were in danger of coming in contact with the ground. He wore a long black frock coat and a tall silk hat, much the worse for wear. When he came in front of the colors he raised himself in the

stirrups and lifted his hat to salute the flag, and if the occasion had not been so serious, and the man so really great, and his face so sad and earnest, the sight would have bordered on the ludicrous.

On October 7 the division broke camp and marched over Elk Ridge into Pleasant Valley on the east side, and not very far from Sandy Hook and Harper's Ferry. Elk Ridge is an outlying spur of South Mountain, which terminates in Maryland Heights opposite to Harper's Ferry.

In Pleasant Valley the division encamped along the eastern base of the mountains with plenty of excellent water from abundant springs, and surrounded by scenery that could not well be surpassed.

Here the regiment remained one week. On the night of October 14, while a large part of the regiment was on picket, orders came to strike camp and proceed by a forced march to Nolan's (or Noland's) Ford, about five miles below Point of Rocks. It proved that General J. E. B. Stuart with a division of rebel cavalry was making a raid around McClellan's army, capturing and destroying trains, taking prisoners and causing much anxiety and commotion.

He was supposed to be making for the fords of the Potomac near Point of Rocks, and hence our hasty departure for that place.

It was about sunrise on the 15th when, after an exceedingly fatiguing march, we reached Point of Rocks, where we halted for breakfast. After an hour's rest we continued the march as rapidly as possible, but without wagons or baggage, reaching Nolan's Ford early in the forenoon, only to find that Stuart had deflected his line of march to White's Ferry, five miles below, and had already escaped into Virginia.

But here at Nolan's Ford (or Ferry)—also known as "camp near Licksville"—we found a pleasant and attractive camp in a fine grove, and here, engaged in drill and some scouting, we remained until October 29,—the longest stay we had made in one place since leaving Jackson.

Meanwhile the entire army had crossed or was crossing the Potomac and preparing for a general advance against the Confederate army.

The other brigades of our division remained at Pleasant Valley until October 26, when they crossed the Potomac on the pontoon bridge at Berlin, reaching Lovettsville, Va., the same day, and remaining there until the 29th, when they moved to Waterford, Va.

Meanwhile, our brigade (the First) moved on the morning of October 29 to Point of Rocks, where brigade headquarters were located, and about noon forded the Potomac at Heedle's Ford, about a mile below Point of Rocks.

The river here is broad and shallow; the bottom being very rocky. The water was up to the hips of a tall man, and the waist of a short one. In places the current was strong and the bottom slippery. The men stripped up to the waist and with their loads high up on the shoulders, by taking hold of hands they got safely across without serious accident. The spectacle was a most comic one and the men made a virtue of necessity and treated it as a sort of "lark."

Once across the Potomac, we advanced rapidly, and the same night reached Waterford, Va., where we found the other brigades of the division and the whole

corps not far away. Here for the first time we were "mustered for pay" and in order to make out the pay rolls a three days' halt was made. Here, too, our surgeon, Dr. S. S. French, first joined the command.

Surgeon French came to us from the Department of the Gulf, where he had been assistant surgeon of the Sixth Michigan Infantry. Dr. French proved himself a most valuable medical officer, giving close and careful attention to the health and welfare of the men. He became very popular with the whole regiment, and continued with it until July, 1864, when impaired health rendered his resignation imperative.

Waterford we found to be a small hamlet of a few hundred people, mostly belonging to the sect of "Dunkards." The division remained at Waterford until November 2, when the general advance on Richmond commenced. The main body of the army of the Potomac moved on roads to the west of us, keeping near to the foot of the Blue Ridge, and occupying the gaps in the ridge successively. The cavalry under General Alfred Pleasanton led the advance.

General Burnside with the Ninth corps moved up the valley of Virginia, keeping nearer to the Bull Run Mountains, and on November 7 we arrived at Rectortown on the Manassas Gap railroad.

On that night came the order relieving General McClellan of the command of the Army of the Potomac and placing General Burnside in chief command.

That night the Twentieth Michigan was encamped upon the top of an exposed and wind-swept hill overlooking the Manassas Gap railroad, and from that position we could see colored signal rockets sent up from army headquarters, but of course had no means of guessing their significance; but it was evident that some unusual event was transpiring. On November 9 General McClellan turned over the command to General Burnside and took his final leave of the Army of the Potomac.

It is not within the scope of this story, nor would it be of any value to its readers, to here discuss the causes or the consequences of this change. The country and the leaders of the two houses of congress were impatient of the long delay of General McClellan in moving, after the successful battle of Antietam (or Sharpsburg), and it was felt, both in Washington and in the country, that the fruits of victory had not been gathered as they might and should have been. The visit of the President to the headquarters of General McClellan on October 1 undoubtedly had for its object the spurring of the general to prompt and rapid action.

General McClellan still remaining passive, on October 13 President Lincoln addressed to him a personal letter, in which he urged him to commence operations at once.

But General McClellan evidently did not intend to move until he was "good and ready." The President tried to impress him that time was of the very essence of the situation, but in vain. General McClellan was not of the President's political party, and the congressional elections, which occurred on November 3, had gone against the administration and the President, and it was felt that General McClellan's long delay and the absence of decisive results had been in great part the cause of the defeat of the administration. The pressure

upon the President by such senators as Chandler of Michigan, Wade of Ohio, and others of similar opinions, now became so great that on November 5 the order for the removal of General McClellan was issued, and forwarded by the hand of General Buckingham, who proceeded at once to the headquarters of General Burnside at Orleans, where the order was delivered to General Burnside on the evening of the 7. General Burnside accompanied by General Buckingham proceeded the same night to the headquarters of General McClellan at Rectortown, where, after a conference, it was agreed that McClellan should retain command until the army should reach Warrenton. This occupied until the 9th, when Burnside issued his order assuming the command.

On that date the First, Second and Fifth Corps were at Warrenton, the Sixth at New Baltimore, and the Ninth at and near Waterloo Bridge, on both sides of the north fork of the Rappahannock.

While we were at this camp the first snow of the season fell, and we were admonished that it was getting late for campaigning.

It was here, too, that the Michigan regiments of the brigade were paraded, and their knapsacks searched for Michigan "Wildcat" money.

On assuming command General Burnside organized the army into three grand divisions, right, left and center, and placed the three senior major generals in command of these grand divisions.

Sumner commanded the right, Franklin the left, and Hooker the center. This promoted General O. B. Wilcox to the command of the corps, and General W. W. Burns, who had formerly been in command of the third brigade of Sedgwick's (Second) division of the Second Corps, was assigned to the command of our division.

He remained in command of the division until after the battle of Fredericksburg, when General Wilcox resumed the division and General Burns disappeared from our horizon. We saw very little of him in the brief period that he was in command, and few of the men would have recognized him had they met him.

From the 11th to the 14th of November General Burnside was concentrating his army in the direction of Warrenton, the Ninth Corps guarding the fords and crossings of the upper Rappahannock. Early on the morning of the 15th the general movement of the army began, toward Fredericksburg.

The first division moved from near Waterloo Bridge to White Sulphur Springs (also known as Faupier Springs), where we first came in contact with the enemy. Just as we reached the Springs, about the middle of the forenoon, the enemy opened upon our trains from a battery on the south side of the river, and something of an artillery duel ensued. The division was formed in line to the right of the Springs covering the fords and remained in position until all the rest of the corps with their trains had passed on toward Bealton Station.

We held that position until late in the evening, when, leaving the ford to be guarded by the cavalry, we made a night march, over a very rough road, arriving at Bealton on the Orange and Alexandria railroad long after midnight. Here we found the entire corps concentrated.

On the 15th of November the Second Michigan Infantry, under Colonel

O. M. Poe (who had been appointed brigadier general, but who was never confirmed as such), joined us at Sulphur Springs, and was assigned to our brigade, and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania with Colonel Christ was transferred to the second brigade. The first brigade, under command of Colonel Poe, now consisted of the following regiments:

Second Michigan—Lieutenant Colonel Louis Dillman.
Seventeenth Michigan—Colonel W. H. Withington.
Twentieth Michigan—Colonel A. W. Williams.
Seventy-ninth New York—Lieutenant Colonel David Morrison.

This continued to be the organization of the brigade until after the Kentucky campaign of 1863, with only slight and temporary exceptions.

On the 16th of November the division marched from Bealton, following a road nearly parallel with the Rappahannock, and on the evening of the 19th passed through the ancient village of Falmouth, two miles above Fredericksburg, ascended the high plateau opposite that city and after dark went into camp on one of General McDowell's old camping grounds, which had been occupied in the early part of the summer, while McClellan's army was in front of Richmond.

It began to rain during the night and continued to rain the next morning, until the camp was one continuous mudhole. Our camp was about a mile back from the river, and in view of the city of Fredericksburg.

It should have been before noted that the Eighth Michigan was assigned to the first brigade on September 16th, but the regiments of the brigade did not come together until we arrived at Waterford, Va., October 29. Colonel William M. Fenton of the Eighth then became brigade commander, and continued so until November 15, when the Second Michigan with Colonel O. M. Poe joined, when the Eighth was transferred once more to the Second Brigade, which was commanded by Colonel B. C. Christ. Colonel William M. Fenton of the Eighth was absent much of the time. Having now reached a halting place at which we were destined to remain for just three months, it is a good point at which to pause in our story.

This ends the first epoch of our actual campaigning with the Army of the Potomac. Thus far we had done all our fighting with our legs, rather than with our arms. Already our numbers were greatly diminished. The hospitals at Washington, Weverton (near Harper's Ferry) and other points contained a considerable number of those who left Michigan brave and stalwart young fellows.

But of all the camps which the Twentieth Michigan ever occupied no other is connected with so many sad and depressing memories as the camp in front of Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER V.

FREDERICKSBURG.

November 19, 1862.

December 15, 1862.

No man ever feels that he is really a soldier until he has seen and participated in at least one battle. He may drill ever so much, he may march over weary leagues of mountains and valleys, he may ford rivers and stand on picket many a day and night, still he does not feel that he is a *real* soldier until he has faced deadly danger and heard the whistle of bullets, and found that his legs do not run away with his heart.

Thus far our soldiering had been of the first kind. We had marched without wagons, slept without tents, and subsisted without regular rations. Many had suffered in hospitals and too many had laid them down in their last, long sleep, far from home and kindred and native state.

Yet we had not been through the crucial test. But we had not long to wait.

It was said at the conclusion of the last chapter, it was the evening of November 19, 1862, when our regiment, weary and foot-sore, "dragged its slow length along" up the hill from Falmouth, and halted upon the plateau, opposite the city of Fredericksburg, which had been occupied by General McDowell's army during the preceding summer. It was no fit place for the troops. The soil was thoroughly saturated with the filth of an old army camp; the site was flat, clayey and muddy from the recent rains.

By the next morning we were pretty nearly afloat, and a disconsolate regiment of men was wading around in the steadily descending rain and through the ever deepening mud.

The sick list was steadily and rapidly growing, and hospital accommodations were far from all that could be desired.

Through the efforts of the regimental and brigade commanders, stimulated by the surgeons, after a few days the camp of the entire brigade was moved back about half a mile, beyond the crest of the Stafford hills, and a new camp was made upon the east side of the Aquia Creek road, upon fresh and untainted ground, the place of the Twentieth falling in a small growth of pine woods. Here for some days the men were occupied in clearing the ground, and in building up small huts over which they stretched their tents as a roof.

The brigade was now and until about the 3d of March under the command of Colonel (or, as he was then styled, General) O. M. Poe.

The original commander of the Second Michigan was Colonel Israel B. Richardson. He was a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy in the class of 1841,

had served through the Mexican war with distinction, had been repeatedly breveted for gallantry, and resigned from the regular army as captain and brevet major in 1855. He remained in civil life until April, 1861, when he was made colonel of the Second Michigan Infantry, with which he went to the front. He commanded a brigade in the first Bull Run battle. He was promoted to be brigadier general in September, 1861, and raised to rank of major general to date from July 4, 1862, and while in command of a division was mortally wounded at the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. When Colonel Richardson was promoted to brigadier general, in September, 1861, O. M. Poe was a first lieutenant of U. S. Topographical Engineers. He had graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1855 and had remained in active service until the beginning of the war. General Poe was appointed to the academy from Ohio. He was a thorough soldier, of splendid physique, tall, commanding and soldierly in appearance. He was a strict disciplinarian, and made his influence felt upon his command. But his nomination as brigadier general was not confirmed by the senate, and, being a "recess appointment," it expired on March 4, 1863. On March 3 he was made captain U. S. Engineers, and having previously resigned as colonel of the Second Michigan, February 16, 1863, fell back upon his commission in the regular army, and served in his regular rank until the end of the war, principally upon the staffs of Generals Burnside and Sherman. He went with the latter on the Atlanta campaign, then on the "march to the sea," and thence to the final surrender of General Joe Johnston's army. He was successively breveted major, lieutenant colonel, colonel and brigadier general in the regular army, for gallant and meritorious services. Politics and politicians stood in the way of his advancement. Had he been confirmed brigadier general, there can be no doubt that he would have risen to high rank and command before the end of the war. In him the volunteer service lost a most accomplished officer, a gallant soldier and a scholarly gentleman. The great ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie is his lasting monument.

But to return to the camp at Fredericksburg—Burnside was waiting for his pontoons, to enable him to cross the Rappahannock, but meanwhile General Lee had been able to concentrate his entire army upon the heights back of that city, and in front of the fords, above and below.

All remained quiet from the 20th of November until the 11th of December.

During this period a large detail from the regiment under command of the lieutenant colonel or major went on picket duty about once in a week. The picket line of our brigade extended from the railroad bridge across the Rappahannock, opposite the town on the right, to a point below the city upon the "Washington farm" on the left.

Opposite our line was the city gas works, and the steamboat landing, where, during the subsequent battle, the pontoon bridge of Sumner's grand division was laid. Here, on the north bank of the river, was the old plantation of Mrs. Mary Washington, mother of General Washington, and here, it was said, was the famous cherry tree which the boy George either did or did not cut down. At any rate, he could not tell a lie about it, and that is undoubtedly the reason that every man of the Twentieth Michigan who did or might have done picket

duty there has ever since adhered strictly to the truth in all their narratives about the war and their part therein.

During the last ten days of November the engineers were busy in repairing the railroad line back to Aquia creek, in building a high bridge across that stream, preparing docks for the steamboats and putting the roads from Belle Plain and Aquia creek to Fredericksburg in order. About the first week of December the pontoon trains began to arrive from Washington escorted by Siegel's corps.

The first intention of General Burnside had been to cross his army by the fords above Falmouth, and seize the heights back of Fredericksburg before Lee could arrive; but the sudden rise of the river rendered this impracticable; and in any case it would have been perilous in the highest degree in the rainy season to throw his army across the river without adequate bridges to connect him with his base of supplies.

The first installment of the pontoons arrived on November 25, but only enough for a single bridge; and as at least four bridges were necessary, these first were little better than none.

This delay changed General Burnside's plan of operations; and after conference with General Halleck he decided to make his crossing at "Skinker's Neck," near Port Royal and about 12 miles below Fredericksburg, and the pontoon trains were ordered to that point. This movement was to have been made on the night of December 6.

But the enemy became aware of the design and a large part of the rebel army under General Jackson was dispatched to that point to oppose the crossing, and General Burnside again suddenly changed his intention, and determined to make the crossing on the 11th, directly in front of the city of Fredericksburg.

All orders were given accordingly, and on the night of December 10, the army was massed in front of the city, and the pontoon trains moved into position, near the river, ready to lay the bridges at the earliest moment practicable.

It was about four o'clock in the morning of the 11th when the first gun was fired. It was a Confederate signal gun, from the heights back of Fredericksburg. Then there was silence for an hour. But the moment the engineers began to lay the bridges at the first break of day, the rebel musketry opened upon them, and though upon the right General Hooker succeeded in getting his bridges laid, yet in the center, where Sumner's grand division was to cross, the pontooneers were driven off and the movement delayed.

General Burnside then ordered the batteries to open on the town; and for two or three hours about a hundred and fifty guns, posted in every position of advantage along a front of nearly three miles on the heights north of the river, rained shot and shell upon the devoted town.

It was one of the heaviest cannonades witnessed during the war, and the constant roar of the guns was for a time almost like a continuous peal of thunder. The town took fire in several places; but still the sharpshooters of Barksdale's rebel brigade clung tenaciously to their positions in cellars and rifle pits along the river bank and prevented the laying of the bridges.

Meanwhile our division had struck its tents and moved down toward the river, ready to cross when the bridges should be completed.

It was near night when finally parts of two or three regiments, including the Seventh Michigan, pushed across in boats and drove off the rebel skirmishers, and enabled the engineers to complete the bridges. Immediately the crossing of the Second Corps (Couch's) commenced, but our division marched back to camp again, as our turn would not come before the morning of Friday, the 12th.

During the night fires were still burning in several parts of the town, and casting a lurid light upon the clouds which overhung the city and the two armies now only waiting for the deadly strife.

Throughout the night an occasional gun from the rebel position broke the ominous stillness as the Confederate artillerymen searched for the bridges where our armies were supposed to be crossing.

By 9 o'clock of the 12th, the Second Corps and the Second and Third Divisions of the Ninth Corps were across, and our division commenced crossing. Sumner's grand division at this time consisted of the Second Corps, commanded by Major General D. N. Couch, and the Ninth Corps, commanded by Brigadier General Orlando B. Willcox. The Ninth Corps embraced three divisions, as follows:

First Division—Commanded by Brigadier General W. W. Burns.

Second Division—Commanded by Brigadier General S. D. Sturgis.

Third Division—Commanded by Brigadier General George W. Getty.

Our division comprised three brigades.

Our (First) brigade was made up of four regiments, as heretofore stated.

The Second brigade, commanded by Colonel B. C. Christ, included five regiments, and the Third brigade, commanded by Colonel Daniel Leasure, embraced the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, and the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts—twelve regiments in the division. The position of the Ninth corps' bridge was almost directly opposite the city gas works, and was well covered from observation from the enemy's position. It was near noon of the 12th when the division completed its crossing, and, turning to the right on leaving the bridge, was drawn up in three lines by brigades in column, along the steamboat dock, between the river and the buildings.

While we were still waiting in this position for orders to move, a Confederate battery on the eastern end of the plateau known as Marye's Heights opened upon us a lively fire of shot and shell. Some of their shells exploded over and in front of our lines and a number of men in the division were killed and wounded. This was the first time our regiment was actually under fire, and memorable on that account.

A little distance to the left of the bridge-end was a small stream, called Hazel Run, which came down through a narrow valley east of Marye's Heights, and poured into the Rappahannock just below our landing. It took a little time to construct a bridge across Hazel Run capable of supporting the artillery, and during the afternoon the division moved by the left flank across the run, and took position under a bluff which rose to a height of 20 or 30 feet and nearly parallel with the river, leaving a narrow meadow between the terrace and the stream. Our brigade occupied the ground next the bluff, and the other

brigades were drawn up between us and the river. The left of Burns' division rested at Deep Run, near General Franklin's bridges, and the right extended to Hazel Run. Here we were entirely protected by the bluff from the enemy's direct fire, our sole function and duty being to form a connection between the right wing in the city, and Franklin's grand division, which had crossed below us and was deploying to the left, extending toward Hamilton's Crossing, nearly three miles from the city.

Couch's Second corps occupied the upper part of the town, with Sturgis' division of the Ninth corps next on his left, and Getty filling the gap between Sturgis and Burns.

General Hooker's two bridges were near the upper end of the town, and Franklin's were about three-fourths of a mile below the town, just at a bend of the river.

The 12th passed in comparative quiet, except for the occasional artillery duels and some rather light skirmishing. That night we lay upon our arms, under the cover of the bluff before mentioned, with pickets thrown out some distance over the plain in front. There was a little snow upon the ground; the night was cold, and the men, without tents, suffered a good deal. As the night wore away a dense, cold fog settled over the valley of the river and covered the town and the plain from view.

During the night Franklin, by whom the principal attack was to be made at and near Hamilton's Crossing, on the extreme left, had been moving his troops, into position.

This grand division consisted of the First and Sixth corps, commanded by General J. F. Reynolds and General William F. Smith, respectively, and numbered about 40,000 men.

The Confederates occupied a range of hills rising from a level plain at a distance of from one to two miles—varying at different points—back from the river.

Along this plain and nearly parallel with the range of hills ran the Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad, and also the Richmond stage road. About three miles from the city this railroad turned to the south through a gap or depression in the hills at a point where upon the crest of the hill was the Hamilton house. Here the stage road leading to the south crossed the railroad and gave to the locality the name of "Hamilton's Crossing." This was the eastern end of the range of hills; and it was here that General Burnside intended the main attack to be made. Having seized this eastern end of the ridge, it was his purpose to hold on here with one or two divisions while Franklin with the whole of one of his corps would push southward and get in the rear of the enemy's main line, and thus compel him to evacuate his fortified position; while Sumner and Hooker would assault in front, and carry the heights back of the city. Such was the plan, but, like many another good plan, it was destined never to be realized.

The morning of the 13th wore slowly away, and every moment we expected, anxiously, the sounds of the opening battle. But the fog hung white, dense and impervious, and it was equally impossible for Franklin's troops to see the position

of the Confederates, and for the latter to see or fire upon the massing columns of Reynold's First Corps, which had the lead.

On the previous evening two divisions of Stoneman's Third corps had been ordered to report to General Franklin, and hold themselves in readiness to support his attack. This increased Franklin's force to about 60,000, or considerably more than one-half the entire army.

At about 10 o'clock the fog lifted and revealed the situation to each of the antagonists, and immediately the battle opened. Meade, with his division of Pennsylvania reserves, advanced gallantly to the attack in the woods crowning the hills to the right (west) of Hamilton's Crossing, and after a fierce and bloody struggle carried a portion of the crest, only to be forced back by Jackson's troops later in the day, at about two o'clock, p. m.

From the position where our division lay we could distinctly hear the sounds of battle on the left, both artillery and musketry, and at times even the cheers of the one side or the other, as they advanced to the charge or repelled the attack. At one time during the afternoon Burns' division was ordered to go to the support of General Franklin, and moved out by the left, crossing Deep Run, and forming in line, while two or three batteries went into position near Franklin's bridge-head, in order to keep open his line of communication if anything untoward should happen at the front. But we did not become engaged, except to receive some shelling from a battery posted near a large, brick house nearly in our front. Toward evening we again returned to our former position, between Hazel Run and Deep Run.

General Burnside had not originally intended to attack the heights back of the city until Franklin had made a secure lodgment at Hamilton's, and the rebel right had been turned. But becoming impatient of the delay, and finding that Franklin was having a harder job than was anticipated, at about the hour of noon he gave the order to Sumner to assault the heights, which was done in the most gallant and persistent manner, but in vain.

No attempt will be made to go into details of these assaults, but from a position a little in advance of our regiment we had a very perfect view of the battlefield and saw brigade after brigade as they rushed up the slope in front of the sunken road at the foot of Marye's Hill, only to be hurled back by the deadly hail from the divisions of Cobb and Kershaw, which lay in that impregnable position, and the storm of grape and canister belched against them from the summit of the crest. Again and again the assault was renewed, still without success.

Hooker was at last ordered in on the right, and Sturgis with his division of the Ninth corps upon the left of Couch's Second corps.

They did all that heroic men could do, but the sun was setting and still no real advantage had been gained, when General Humphreys with his splendid division of Pennsylvania troops made a final effort to carry the stone-wall and get possession of the sunken road. It was already getting dark when Humphreys' assault was delivered; and the writer of this will never forget either the heroic manner in which they advanced to the assault, or the wall of fire which

ran around the base of the Marye's Hill, withering and scorching them and sweeping them back as with the besom of destruction.

This closed the heavy fighting of the day. Couch's corps had lost more than 4,000 men, of whom 54 officers and 358 men were killed, and 266 officers and 2,968 men were wounded. The loss of the Ninth corps was 1,330, of which 1,007 fell upon Sturgis' division. Humphrey's small division of only eight regiments lost 1,019.

On that bloody and disastrous day the army of the Potomac lost 12,653 officers and men—of whom 124 officers and 1,160 men were killed, 654 officers and 8,646 men were wounded, and 20 officers and 1,749 men were missing—mostly wounded and captured.

Once more darkness settled over this most disastrous field of the whole war, and gradually the snarl of the musketry and the deep boom of the big guns died out, and Fredericksburg had taken its place in history as the great slaughter pen of the Army of the Potomac.

Soon after dark orders came for our regiment to go on picket at a farmhouse on the Richmond stage road, about a quarter or third of a mile in advance of the position we had occupied.

We advanced across the plain nearly to the line of the railroad, and there we spent a long, cold and cheerless night. We were nearly midway between the two great battlefields of the right and the left, but fortunately beyond the sound of the cries of the wounded and the dying.

All night long one heavy rebel gun on our left front boomed three or four times an hour, apparently feeling for our bridges, in the expectation that troops would be moving there. At last the morning began to color the east, and we quietly moved back to our former position under the bluff.

During the night General Burnside had determined, in spite of protests, to renew the assault on the morning of the 14th, and as General Burns' division had not been engaged upon the 13th, and had suffered only slight losses, it was selected to lead the attack.

The line on which the attack was to be made was up the valley of Hazel Run, and almost in front of our position.

Orders were issued to the several divisions of the Ninth Corps, and by nine o'clock the column of assault was formed, in column of regiments, our brigade in the lead. A portion of the Second Michigan was thrown forward as skirmishers; the Seventy-ninth New York—a small regiment—formed the first line and the Twentieth Michigan came next.

Knowing the result of the attack of the day before, and the tremendous losses suffered by Couch and Sturgis, we awaited with intense anxiety the order to advance. The skirmishers were moving and some shots had been fired, and yet the rebel batteries on the heights, although they must have seen us, remained silent. It was Sunday morning; the sky was clear, and the sun lighted up the ghastly scene in front of the sunken road, where the slope was almost covered with our dead.

It was a most trying delay—and yet the order to advance did not come.

It was near high noon when an aide rode down from the city and gave the order to move the division back to its former position, between Hazel Run and Deep Run.

A council of war had been in session at the court house, and the judgment had been well-nigh unanimous against General Burnside, and it was determined not to renew the attack. We returned to our bivouac, and once more, on the frozen ground and under the December skies, we lay down for another night of anxious watchfulness. Our rations were short, and no fires were permitted; and, cold and hungry, we shivered through the night.

Another long day came and went and the battle was not renewed; but on the night of Monday, the 15th, with muffled tread we moved silently, like an army of ghosts, across the bridges, and when the sun rose over Stafford hills on the morning of the 16th it found the Army of the Potomac back in its old cantonments, on the north side of the Rappahannock, diminished by 1,284 killed, about 9,000 wounded, and 1,700 missing. A large percentage of the wounded were classed as "slightly or not seriously" wounded, and many of them did not even go to hospitals.

Our part in the battle of Fredericksburg was simply that of a connecting link, and a reserve, but it was none the less pretty trying upon health and nerves. The depressing influence upon both officers and men was very great, and some officers, high up in the regiment, seemed to lose hope and confidence and this was reflected down through the rank and file. This was truly, in Shakespeare's words, "The winter of our discontent."

And here we will pause before entering upon other and happier scenes and experiences.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER THE BATTLE—NEWPORT NEWS—WESTWARD.

December 15, 1862.

March 26, 1863.

Twenty-two years after the battle of Fredericksburg the writer of this stood upon "Marye's Hill" in company with General James Longstreet, who commanded the entire left wing of the Confederate army in that battle, together with General John M. Newton, who commanded one of the divisions of Franklin's grand division on the left, and other generals both Union and Confederate, and heard General Longstreet describe the battle of December 13 as he saw it from the heights. His story did not vary in any material particular from that written by him for the Century Magazine and found in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" vol. 3; published by the Century Company.

Speaking of the repeated charges and repulses of Sumner's grand division, General Longstreet said it made his heart ache to see the slaughter of such gallant soldiers.

The writer asked General Longstreet if he was aware of the formation of the column of assault on Sunday morning the 14th in the valley of Hazel Run. He said that he watched that formation from the moment it commenced, until the orders were countermanded and the column was withdrawn, but that it did not give him the slightest uneasiness; that he had thirty pieces of cannon in position, which would have cross-fired the column from the moment it should start and so long as a man continued to advance.

He said he was confident that the column would never live to reach one-half the distance to the hills. He pointed out the positions of his batteries and the number of his guns, and declared that for humanity's sake he was glad when the attempt was given up. He mentioned the fact that in Saturday's battle a brigade of Sturgis' division, having been repulsed in its attempt to reach the sunken road, took refuge in a railroad cut, when a battery opened upon them which enfiladed the cut, causing great slaughter. Referring again to the proposed assault on Sunday morning, he said he would have been reluctant to turn his batteries upon us, but added grimly, "But you know that war is war." Simply another form of the remark which General Sherman made to the mayor of Atlanta.

The official reports published by the government contain but little relative to Burns' division. In the appendix will be found all that is printed in the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion." General Burns' own report is scarcely half a finger's length, while there are no reports whatsoever from the brigade commanders. General Willcox barely mentions Burns' division as being ordered to report to Franklin, and its return to its original position.

By the 17th of December the troops were all back in their old cantonments, and the routine of picket and camp was resumed. But a dark pall had settled upon the army, and discouragement, exposure, bad food and homesickness produced much disease and many deaths. For a time it was an almost daily thing to hear the fifes of our drum corps shrilly wailing out the death-march. On December 27th there were four deaths in the regiment. The hospital was full and frequently the ambulances would remove such as could safely be moved to Belle Plain, whence they would be taken by boat to Washington and placed in general hospital.

On December 5 Major Smith had received his commission as lieutenant colonel, and Captain Cutcheon of Company B mustered as major of the regiment. This created a vacancy in the captaincy of Company B, to which Lieutenant Charles T. Allen was promoted. Some time after the battle the Eighth Michigan was attached for a short time to our brigade, and Colonel Fenton assumed command while Colonel Poe went to Washington on leave of absence. Upon the return of Colonel Poe, he resumed the command of the brigade, and Colonel Fenton went home, and in March resigned.

Many of the Twentieth will remember the romance of "Frank Thompson," "the girl soldier" of Company F, Second Michigan, who was brigade mail carrier while the brigade was under command of Colonel O. M. Poe. Colonel Fred. Schneider, of the old Second, has written an interesting account of this absolutely well authenticated case of a girl who for two years served as a common soldier—sometimes as hospital attendant, sometimes as scout and sometimes as mail-carrier and orderly. All who were with Poe's brigade at the battle of Fredericksburg must certainly remember the boyish orderly who followed close to the colonel everywhere. At Lebanon, Kentucky, in April, 1863, Frank Thompson (or as her real name was, Sarah E. Edmonds) deserted from the brigade hospital to prevent the discovery of her sex. Twenty-five years afterwards, through the efforts of Colonel Cutcheon, the charge of desertion was removed, and she was granted a pension of \$12.00 per month by special act of congress. After the war she married a man by the name of Seelye and lived for some years in Charlevoix county. Afterward they removed to Fort Scott, Kansas, and a few years ago she died in Texas.

One event which helped to brighten the closing days of the year was the presentation to the regiment of a fine state banner, which had been prepared by the ladies of Jackson. The original intention had been to present it before the regiment left Jackson; but this proved to be impracticable. The flag was forwarded by express, and lay in Washington for a long time; but reached us after the battle, and was finally presented upon Christmas Day, 1862. In "Michigan in the War" the date is given as Thanksgiving Day—this was an error. The address of presentation was written by Mrs. Louisa Blair, wife of Governor Blair, and was read by Dr. O. P. Chubb, afterward surgeon of the regiment. The speech of acceptance was delivered by Major Cutcheon, who had been selected for that purpose by the officers of the regiment. Both addresses were published in the "Union Vidette," printed by the officers of the brigade, at Lebanon, Kentucky, April 20, 1863. In his address Major Cutcheon spoke of the

Seventh Michigan crossing at Fredericksburg, December 11, which makes it certain that the presentation did not take place on Thanksgiving day, which was November 27.

An extract from the diary of Lieutenant Walter McCollum under date of December 25 says: "At 10:30 a. m. the regiment was drawn up to receive the state colors. The presentation speech by Mrs. Governor Blair was read by acting adjutant. The reply was made by Major B. M. Cutcheon."

The battle of Fredericksburg was followed by a long congressional investigation, the result of which was that on January 25, 1863, General Burnside was relieved at his own request of the command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Joseph Hooker was placed in command.

Soon after this change, on February 6, the Ninth army corps was detached from the Army of the Potomac and ordered to report to General John A. Dix, at Fortress Monroe. On the morning of February 14 the regiment took cars at the station near the Phillips house, being the last of the corps to move, and the same day embarked upon the steamer Robert Morris at Aquia Creek, and on the 16th reported to General Dix. The three divisions were disembarked at Newport News, upon the James River, where, upon a high and healthful location on a plain extending for some miles along the east bank of the James River, we made our camp. Wilcox on the right, Getty on the left and Sturgis in the center, facing the river.

The soil was loose and porous, so that it dried quickly after a rain; there were abundant springs of pure water, and here, occupied with drill, picket, and the routine camp duty, the regiment spent a delightful month.

Our brigade occupied the extreme right of the line fronting the James River.

Directly in front of our encampment in the middle of James River, lay the wrecks of the war ships Congress and Cumberland, where they had been sunk by the famous rebel iron-clad ram Merrimac, a year before. Only the upper portion of their masts appeared above water to mark the spot where that epoch-making naval battle took place.

Colonel Poe ordered daily battalion drills, and three times a week he personally conducted brigade drills. With abundant rations, and plenty of occupation and no hardship, the command quickly regained the morale which had been in great part lost at Fredericksburg, and rapidly improved in both health and spirits. There was no enemy near to molest us, but picket duty was strictly maintained, and a school of instruction of officers was organized.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith received leave of absence for 30 days, to go home to Michigan, and left in the early part of March.

The regiment had built a regular and handsome camp, which attracted considerable attention and served to inspire some feeling of pride in the regiment and to improve their condition. But a cloud had been gathering for some time. During most of the period since the regiment had been in the field it had been without tents or the ordinary camp equipage, which other regiments around us enjoyed. The result was much sickness and a considerable number of deaths. There were many of the leading line officers (most of them afterward fell most gallantly at the post of duty before the end of the war) who believed

and said that this was largely the fault of the commander of the regiment. This feeling increased and deepened with time, and finally took tangible form in a petition signed by all the line officers present, stating their grievances, and declaring in conclusion that in the opinion of the petitioners the good of the regiment demanded that the colonel should relinquish the command.

The colonel immediately ordered all the signers of the petition under arrest for insubordination, and demanded of them, one by one, that they should withdraw their names from the paper.

This was upon the 18th day of March, 1863. There was but little sleep in the camp that night. It was a most remarkable situation. During the night an amicable arrangement, the detail of which it is unnecessary to here state, was reached, within an hour afterward, marching orders came and by noon of March 19, tents had been struck, the baggage loaded on the wagons, and, through the fast falling rain and snow the regiment marched to the landing at Newport News, and went on board the steamer Croton.

But the colonel had been taken violently ill, and under the care of the surgeon he was taken to the steamer in the ambulance and on reaching Baltimore, received 30 days' leave of absence and proceeded to Michigan. The command of the regiment devolved upon Major Cutcheon, on the morning of the 19th.

On February 24 Quartermaster Dwight, having resigned before the corps left Fredericksburg, Adjutant H. S. Warner was promoted to quartermaster, and First Lieutenant E. P. Pitkens, Company H, was promoted to adjutant of the regiment. This resulted in the promotion of Lieutenant Walter McCollum, of Company H, to first lieutenant, and Orderly Horace V. Knight, of that company, to second lieutenant.

In January, 1863, Captain Anderson, of Company E, had resigned, which resulted in the promotion of Lieutenant Francis Porter to his place, and the like resignation of Captain Elijah Hammond, of Company K, permitted the promotion of First Lieutenant Roswell P. Carpenter, of Company D, to be captain of Company K.

At the same time the resignation of Captain Willis, of Company G, caused the promotion of Lieutenant John S. Montgomery to be captain of that company, and other promotions to fill vacancies so produced. All these changes, and others occurring at about the same time, resulted in the greatly improved discipline and efficiency of the regiment. At Newport News, we had been realizing the full benefits of all these changes, and the command left there in excellent condition of health and spirit.

When General Burnside was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, General W. F. Smith was assigned to the temporary command of the Ninth corps, and continued so until March 16, when he was permanently relieved and General Willcox placed in command.

On March 13, on the strength of a report that General Longstreet with a large force was marching upon Suffolk, the Third Division, under General George W. Getty, was ordered to that place, and remained permanently in the Department of Virginia, and never again rejoined the corps.

To return to the movement of the division: It was late in the afternoon of

March 19 when we cast off from Newport News, and in the midst of a dismal storm, steamed away to Norfolk for coal and water. The boats were overcrowded, and the storm continued so rough that it was not until three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st that we sailed out of Hampton Roads and proceeded on our way to Baltimore. Until we reached there we could only guess the destination of the corps. We now learned that General Burnside had been placed in command of the Department of the Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati, and that we were bound for Kentucky.

On the 22d we disembarked at Locust Point, and, in the evening took cars on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad for Parkersburg on the Ohio River. At daylight on the 23d, we were among the familiar scenes around Harper's Ferry, where we stopped for breakfast, and then after passing the scene of our encampment in September and October at Antietam Iron works, at about dusk we halted outside the city of Cumberland, where bread, meat and coffee had been provided along side the railroad. Here the men disembarked and stretched their legs for an hour, and then we proceeded on our way over the mountains.

We lost the chance to see the most picturesque part of the scenery during the night of the 23d, but the next day we passed through West Virginia, and at evening of the 24th we reached Parkersburg, on the Ohio.

It was late in the evening when steamer swung out from Parkersburg, into the Ohio, and commenced the descent of that picturesque and historic stream. The next day, the 25th, was a beautiful day, and all on board enjoyed it to the full.

All seemed rejoiced to leave the Army of the Potomac and get west of the mountains and nearer to Michigan. But few incidents in the history of the regiment will be recalled with more pleasure by the survivors of the Twentieth than that sail down the Ohio.

On the morning of March 26 we reached Cincinnati.

In pursuance to orders, Major Cutcheon commanding the regiment—both colonel and lieutenant colonel having gone to Michigan—reported in person to General Burnside at the Burnett House. The general directed that the regiment be brought ashore and marched to the Fifth street market, where breakfast would be served. Accordingly the men were disembarked and marched to the market, where an abundant breakfast had been prepared. On the way back to the boat we halted on the east front of the Burnett House, and General Burnside came out on the balcony, and greeted the regiment, who gave the general three hearty cheers, and then proceeded on board the boat. Another delightful day of sailing down the Ohio followed, and at 10 p. m., on the night of March 26, 1863, we reached Louisville, Ky., and became a part of the Army of the Ohio.

This closes another epoch in the history of the regiment, and opens a new and interesting episode in our service.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN.

March 26, 1863.

June 9, 1863.

Although the regiment reached Louisville at 10 o'clock on the night of March 26, yet, as the most of the men had already turned in for the night, we did not disembark until the morning of the 27th.

The regiment was then formed and marched through the streets to the Louisville and Nashville depot, where breakfast had been provided. After breakfast the regiment marched to "Preston's woods," an eastern suburb of this city, where it remained until noon of the 28th, when it marched to the station to take cars on the Louisville & Nashville railroad, for Bardstown, Ky., about 50 miles a little east of south of Louisville. A long delay occurred in getting cars, and it was nearly night when we finally got away and left the city behind.

It had been reported that rebel guerrillas were lurking near the railroad, and the progress we made was slow and tedious. A good share of the night we lay at Bardstown Junction, and not until daybreak of the 29th did we reach our destination. At Bardstown we encamped in a beautiful and stately grove upon the estate of Ex-Governor Wickliffe.

At this time the state of Kentucky was divided into two military districts; the western district, in which we were located, was commanded by General J. T. Boyle, with headquarters at Louisville. The headquarters of the eastern district were at Lexington, and General O. B. Willcox was assigned to command in that district.

From the time of the transfer of the Eighth Michigan, our brigade continued to consist of the following named regiments:

Seventy-ninth New York (Highlanders)—Lieutenant Colonel Morrison.

Second Michigan—Colonel William Humphrey.

Eighth Michigan—Major Ralph Ely.

Seventeenth Michigan—Colonel W. H. Withington and Lieutenant Colonel Constant Luce.

Twentieth Michigan—Colonel A. W. Williams and Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith rejoined the regiment at Louisville, March 27.

Division headquarters were at Lexington, and the second brigade was distributed to points in the eastern district.

Colonel W. H. Withington of the Seventeenth Michigan had resigned

before we left Newport News, and he never again joined, having returned permanently to civil life. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Constant Luce, who was soon after commissioned colonel.

Colonel Poe having resigned as colonel of the Second Michigan, Captain William Humphrey was promoted to be colonel, and when Lieutenant Colonel Louis Dillman resigned, Colonel Humphrey assumed command at Lebanon on April 25.

On April 1 the command received orders, "March next morning to Lebanon." April 2 we marched through a fine country, over good roads, a distance of eighteen miles in a southeasterly direction to Springfield, the county seat of Washington county, and that night encamped in the fair grounds near the town. Many of the regiment occupied the "grand stand" for headquarters that night. The next day, April 3, the brigade marched about twelve miles, nearly due south, to Lebanon, the county seat of Marion county, and encamped in a meadow east of the town.

We found at this point a garrison consisting of one or more Kentucky regiments and at least one battery of artillery, all under the command of Brigadier General Mahlon D. Manson of Indiana. On April 6 the regiment was paid off to March 1. This was the second payment since leaving Michigan. On the ninth the brigade was reviewed by General Manson.

On April 25 Colonel Williams returned—Lieutenant Colonel Smith had been in command since we left Louisville.

Colonel Williams brought with him commissions for quite a number of officers who had been promoted in consequence of resignations during the winter. The colonel held dress parade and issued an order announcing the promotions, but with this exception did not resume command of the regiment.

April 27 the brigade, under the command of Colonel David Morrison of the Seventy-ninth New York, marched from Lebanon for the site of Green River bridge on the main road to Columbia, the county seat of Adair county. That day we marched about twenty miles and camped beyond Campbellsville. April 28 we marched to Green River, twelve miles, where it was designed that the brigade should reconstruct a bridge which had been destroyed January 1 by the Confederates. We arrived at Green River before noon and were there met by an order from General Manson to send our regiment forward to Columbia, and thence to reinforce Colonel Richard T. Jacob, commanding a brigade of cavalry near Jamestown, at a point on the Cumberland River, called "Greasy Creek Ford." Accordingly the regiment bade adieu to the rest of the brigade, and after marching a few miles toward Columbia, encamped for the night. Early the next morning the march was resumed, the regiment reaching Columbia at 10:30 a. m. Here all surplus baggage was stored, and three days' rations cooked. Up to this point Colonel Williams had accompanied the regiment, though Colonel Smith continued in command; but on this day Colonel Williams bade good-bye to the Twentieth, and never again commanded it.

The history of the campaign to Monticello and the scout under Captain W. D. Wiltzie and the fight at Horseshoe Bend, and the return to Columbia on May 12 are all told so fully in the "official reports" of Colonel Jacob, Lieutenant Colonel

W. Huntington Smith and Captain W. D. Wiltsie (for which see appendix), that it is hardly necessary to extend this story by repeating them here. This is the most satisfactory instance of official reporting connected with the entire history of the regiment. But simply to preserve the continuity of the narrative, record is here made of the movements of the command.

April 29—Left Columbia at 2 o'clock p. m. and marched ten miles east toward Jamestown and bivouacked.

April 30—Regiment mustered for pay. Marched at 7 a. m. through Jamestown to Greasy Creek Ford, and bivouacked. Distance thirteen miles.

May 1—Remained at Greasy Creek until late at night and then crossed the Cumberland River in a leaky old ferry boat.

May 2—Marched to Monticello, thirteen miles, and bivouacked. The cavalry had just had a skirmish in the village and some dead were still lying in the streets.

May 3—Remained at Monticello; raining much of the time.

May 5—Marched back to Greasy Creek Ford.

May 6, 7 and 8—Waiting to recross the Cumberland, the cavalry regiments crossing first and holding the boat.

May 8—Detachment under Captain W. D. Wiltsie sent out to break up guerrilla band.

May 9—Fight of party under Captain Wiltsie at Alcorn's distillery, and attack on the outpost of the Twentieth Michigan at the Narrows of Horseshoe Bend.

May 10 (Sunday)—BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND and return across the Cumberland.

This narrative would be very incomplete without some brief account in this place of the fight at Horseshoe Bend. The Cumberland River opposite the mouth of Greasy Creek near Jamestown makes a grand curve, returning upon itself, so that after a detour of not less than five miles, it forms a narrow neck not more than one-third to one-half of a mile across. This is known as the "Narrows," and the curve is designated as "Horseshoe Bend." From the Greasy Creek Ford (or Ferry) to the Narrows is about two miles. As the main road to Monticello emerges from the woods at the Narrows it passes over a sharp crest and enters the clearing around the "Coffey place"—embracing, perhaps, thirty acres of land. The Coffey House (so called from name of its owner), was an ordinary, medium-sized log house on the left hand (north) side of the road, with a narrow road or lane, bordered by high rail fences coming into the main road on the near (west) side of the house. The Coffey House was surrounded by the usual outbuildings, none of them large. Back of the house was a garden and orchard, also surrounded by fences, and a short distance beyond the house the road turned to the left and again entered heavy woods.

Our pickets were stationed in the edge of these woods with a small picket-reserve at the outhouses of the Coffey House.

Companies A and C had been on picket duty at the Narrows, and these had been reinforced by Company D, under Captain Grant; and Companies B and K under Captains Allen and Carpenter, who had been out on the scout to

Alcorns under Captain Wiltsie, and had fallen back on the evening of the ninth to the Narrows, thus concentrating about one-half the regiment at that point.

As soon as word came to the Ford at about 4 p. m. of the ninth, that our scouts and pickets had been attacked, Colonel Smith ordered Major Cutcheon to proceed at once to the narrows and take command of all the detachments there. When within about five hundred yards of the Narrows, Major Cutcheon met Captain Barnes in command of all the detachments of Companies A, B, C, D and K, moving back toward the Ford.

But as Captain Wiltsie with his detachment had not yet come in, or been heard from, Major Cutcheon decided to hold the Narrows until Wiltsie could have time to report. He accordingly posted his force along the crest at the edge of the Coffey farm, Companies C and K on the right and A and D on the left of the road, with B in reserve at the center. Pickets were posted beyond the clearing with reserves at the outbuildings.

About dark on the ninth the enemy's advance felt our position, but immediately retired out of sight and hearing.

During the evening Colonel Smith came up with the remainder of the regiment which he held in reserve in the rear of the ridge until after daylight.

At about 8 o'clock, Sunday the tenth, the enemy advanced in force in line of battle, forced back our pickets and took possession of the house, outbuildings, garden and orchard, and the line of the lane or road leading back to our left. Their line of battle was sufficient to extend from the woods on our right into the woods on the left, and might have been a small brigade of dismounted cavalry. Having gained the buildings and the cross-road, the enemy made no attempt to charge us, but kept up a desultory skirmish fire all day. During the forenoon a battalion of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, about 125 men, armed with carbines came up, and were posted near the center of the line.

Colonel Richard T. Jacob had come up during the night and took command.

Some time after noon one piece of Captain Sim's Twenty-fourth Indiana Battery arrived and was posted on a crest on the extreme left, supported by Companies B, I and G, while Company F was deployed on our right extending well down toward the river. Company E was in the line in the left center. Company H was still absent with Captain Wiltsie. During the afternoon it was evident that the enemy was receiving reinforcements and preparing to take the offensive.

Colonel Jacob resolved to anticipate them, and ordered the artillery to open on at the house, garden, orchard and woods.

At the same time that the gun opened the whole line was ordered to charge and take the house and cross-road and force the enemy back into the woods.

The instant the artillery opened the whole line sprang forward at the charge, Company K on the right of the main road, Company C, Captain Barnes, directly down the road, and Companies A and D immediately on the left of the road; the three companies supporting the batteries remained near the gun.

The battalion of the Twelfth Kentucky dashed forward in most gallant style in the center, and the enemy fled in haste from house, garden and orchard, back into the woods.

Up to this time the force we had been fighting was Colonel Cluke's brigade,

consisting of the Eighth and Eleventh Kentucky Cavalry under Major R. S. Bullock and Colonel D. W. Chenault. But now the whole of General John H. Morgan's division had arrived, and had just formed in line for the charge, when our advance was made. Cluke's brigade rallied on Morgan's division, and the entire force now advanced in two lines of battle, extending from woods to woods, outnumbering our force by at least eight to one.

Our force consisted of about 250 of the Twentieth Michigan, 125 dismounted cavalry and one gun of Sim's Battery—about 400 men in all.

When Morgan's division came pouring out of the woods, we were ordered to fall back to our former position which we did without panic or confusion. In doing so we lost several men, as we had lost a number in the charge, including Lieutenant William M. Green, who fell midway of the field leading his men most gallantly.

After holding the position for about half an hour until the wounded and the gun were removed, we fell back to the second position in the woods, where a summons to surrender was sent us. Colonel Jacob invited General Morgan to come and take him, which he failed to do, and reinforcements coming up, we retired in good order to the Cumberland River, and before nightfall were safely across. So ended our first real fight.

Colonel Jacob in his report says: "The men of Michigan, Indiana and Kentucky vied with each other in daring deeds, and men never fought better. In the skirmish of Saturday and the fight at Horseshoe Bend on Sunday, the regiment lost one officer (Green) killed, one officer (Lounsberry), wounded and captured, and one officer (Lieutenant Knight), prisoner.

Besides these there were three men killed, seventeen wounded and six missing—captured in the Saturday skirmish. For his part in this action, in leading the charge on the Coffey House, on the reports of Lieutenant Colonel Smith and Colonel Richard T. Jacob, Major Cutcheon received the "Congressional Medal of Honor." (For reports see appendix.)

May 11, the Twentieth commenced its march back to Columbia and marched thirteen miles and bivouacked. Met the Seventeenth Michigan coming to our relief, and next morning they returned with us to Columbia, where we arrived at 10 o'clock of the twelfth and rejoined the brigade.

This episode makes one of the most interesting and satisfactory periods of the regiment's history, because we were detached from the brigade, and practically fought the battle alone, although the men of the Kentucky Cavalry behaved in a most gallant manner, and the one gun of Captain Sim's Indiana Battery rendered most excellent service. The wounded from the fight and those who became sick from the exposure of the last two weeks were brought back to Columbia and cared for in the hospital or in private houses.

Among those who were taken ill as the result of the campaign was Major Cutcheon, who was cared for at a private residence for about two weeks.

On the seventeenth about a dozen officers who had been promoted since leaving Frederick-burg started for Louisville under orders to be mustered in their new commissions.

These officers were mustered on the nineteenth, were paid on the twentieth, and returned to the command on the twenty-second. The time was occupied with drills and scouting for the rest of that month. On May 30, Lieutenant C. A. Lounsberry, who had been wounded and taken prisoner in the affair beyond the Narrows on the ninth, was brought in, having been rescued from a farm-house where he had lain since the day of the fight.

On June 1 the Seventeenth Michigan was temporarily transferred to Third Brigade, the One Hundredth Pennsylvania ("Roundheads") taking its place in our brigade—now changed to the Third, the old Third becoming the First—and Colonel Daniel Leasure of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania was assigned to command the brigade, so that now we were organized as follows:

First Division—Brigadier General Thomas Welch.

Third Brigade—Colonel Daniel Leasure.

One Hundredth Pennsylvania—Lieutenant Colonel Matthew Dawson.

Second Michigan—Colonel William Humphrey.

Eighth Michigan—Major Ralph Ely.

Twentieth Michigan—Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Smith.

Seventy-ninth New York—Colonel David Morrison.

On the same date orders were received from General Burnside to turn over all A tents and wall tents to the quartermaster, and all baggage which could not be carried by the men to be sent to the rear, and eight days' rations to be cooked. As it was well known that General Burnside contemplated a move into Tennessee, and as he had just moved his headquarters from Cincinnati to Hickman's Bridge (Camp Nelson), it was supposed, of course, that the expected campaign was just about to begin.

June 3—Baggage and rations taken to Green River Bridge.

June 4—Order to march came during the night. The Second and Twentieth Michigan and One Hundredth Pennsylvania started at daylight and marched to Campbellsville, about twenty miles, and bivouacked.

June 5—Marched at 4 a. m. for Lebanon, where we arrived at noon, having made twenty miles. Prepared rations and at 6:30 p. m. the Second and Twentieth took cars to Louisville.

June 6—Reached Louisville at daylight. At this time it became known that our corps was on its way to Vicksburg to reinforce General Grant. At Louisville Colonel Williams, who was on special duty there, visited the regiment for the last time.

Major Cutcheon at Louisville received a leave of absence on surgeon's certificate, and left the regiment at Jeffersonville, Indiana, to go to Michigan, and did not rejoin until June 29, while the regiment lay at Milldale, Mississippi.

Proceeding by rail *via* Seymour, Indiana, and Sandoval, Illinois, the command reached Cairo, Illinois, on the eighth and took boat down the Mississippi river on the ninth.

Thus ended the Kentucky campaign, which had proved a great relief from the winter on the Rappahannock.

The delightful weather, healthful camps and frequent changes, and especially the active campaign had done much to recuperate and invigorate the men. Many promotions had taken place among the officers, resulting in corresponding promotions among the men, and the regiment went to its new field in excellent health and spirits.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MISSISSIPPI CAMPAIGN.

June 9, 1863

August 11, 1863.

It was the understanding when we received orders to proceed to Mississippi that the campaign into East Tennessee was only interrupted and postponed, and that after helping General Grant to take Vicksburg we were to return to Kentucky to resume that campaign. At 9 a. m., June 9, the steamer swung off from the dock at Cairo and headed down the Mississippi, bound for Vicksburg.

On June 10 we reached Memphis at 4 p. m. and remained there until noon of the eleventh, when the troops were landed on the Arkansas side for rest and bathing. June 12 the boat sailed at daylight, and on the thirteenth the fleet was fired upon from the shore and one of our men was wounded.

Such lawless acts by guerrillas were of frequent occurrence and as a protection to the pilots the pilot houses of all steamers navigating the river were sheathed with bullet-proof iron.

On June 14 having made the trip without any other incident worthy of note, the regiment disembarked at Young's Point on the Louisiana side, five miles above Vicksburg, Mississippi, at a point where a canal was being cut to a point below Vicksburg. On the next day, the fifteenth, the regiment marched across the great bend of the Mississippi to a point nearly opposite Warrenton, below Vicksburg, where some of the regiments were crossing over to the Mississippi side. Heavy cannonading was in progress back of Vicksburg. Orders to cross the river were countermanded, and at night the regiment, with the rest of the brigade, marched back to Young's Point, where they had landed the day before.

June 16—The command embarked on steamboats and sailed up the Yazoo River to Snyder's Bluff, when the regiments disembarked, and the brigades of the Ninth Corps were concentrated in the vicinity, extending in the direction of the Big Black River.

The two divisions of the corps were under the command of Major General John G. Parke, who had been chief of staff to General Burnside; the First Division, under command of Brigadier General Thomas Welch, formerly colonel of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, and the Second Division under Brigadier General Robert B. Potter, formerly colonel of the Fifty-first New York.

The regiment marched on the seventeenth about two miles southeast and camped on the bank of a small creek at a point called "Milledale." Here the command was occupied until June 29 in throwing up breastworks and preparing fortifications against an expected attack by General Joseph E. Johnston, who was advancing to the relief of General Pemberton in Vicksburg. Nothing beyond skirmishing took place.

On June 29 the brigade marched to Flower Hill church on Oak Ridge, about seven miles east of Milldale, and took up position to oppose any attempt on the part of General Johnston to attack Grant's army from the rear. Our corps covered the front from the Big Black to the Yazoo Rivers. Here the regiment resumed the work of throwing up entrenchments, which continued until July 4, on which day Vicksburg was surrendered with its entire garrison and armament. About 32,000 men were surrendered and paroled.

On the same afternoon General Grant issued orders to the Ninth and Smith's Division of the Sixteenth Corps to march at once under command of General William T. Sherman to drive back Johnston's army and take and hold the city of Jackson, the capital of the state, and destroy the railroads as far as possible north, south and east of Jackson. The right wing of the army, consisting of the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Corps, except Logan's Division, advanced under General E. O. C. Ord.

The command marched at 4 o'clock p. m., July 4, in a northeasterly direction and bivouacked in the woods near Young's Cross Roads, seven miles from Flower Hill.

July 5—Marched at 1 p. m. to the vicinity of Birdsong Ferry on the Big Black River and bivouacked in the woods between Bear Creek and the Big Black. A reconnaissance showed the Ferry to be in the hands of the enemy and the passage to be practicable by fording.

July 6—The First Brigade was engaged in building a bridge across the Big Black River. They tore down a cotton gin building to procure the timbers and materials. A part of the troops crossed that night.

The Twentieth went on picket a mile beyond the point where the bridge was building. Slight skirmishing on the river.

July 7—The regiment took its place in the division column and crossed the Big Black about noon. The Big Black bottoms were low and flat, partially covered with groves of trees and surrounded by high lands. It was about two miles across these flat bottom lands and the heat was intense. It must have been much above 100 degrees in the shade, and many degrees hotter in the sun, where we were obliged to march.

Many men were overcome by the heat. By order of the surgeon the regiment was halted the moment the upland was reached, for a long rest. That night we marched until about 11 o'clock, some of the time moving across plantations and by private roads.

After dark there came up a most fearful storm of lightning, wind and rain, such as is not seen in the north. The rain came down in sheets, the thunder pealed terrifically, the lightning flashed and blazed continuously, and the roads became torrents, at times, with water ankle deep. No one who was in it will ever forget that night march. A little after 11 o'clock we turned into a field and bivouacked, near Bolton. Soon many fires were blazing, and the men were cooking their suppers and drying their clothing and blankets. The next day, July 8, we remained in camp until after noon. Marched that night until near midnight, toward Jackson and went into bivouac. This day, a number of horses died, apparently from poisoning, and upon the presumption that the drink-

ing pools had been contaminated, several plantation buildings were burned. Among them was the residence of Joe Davis, brother of Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy.

On July 9 we marched at 7 o'clock and bivouacked seven miles from the city of Jackson in a northwest direction. In this country there were few wells, the water being mostly stored in deep cisterns, and the men suffered a good deal from thirst. Along the route guards were stationed around these cisterns to prevent rushing and fighting to get at the bucket. The direction of our march was such as to bring us to the capital on the north side, on the road leading to the Canton.

At about noon of July 10 the head of our column crowned a fine swell of land to the northwest of the city, commanding a fine view of Jackson, which lay upon another similar elevation beyond a broad valley.

In the valley between ran the Jackson & Grenada railroad, and along this ridge of land on which we halted was a broad road, north and south, known as the Livingston road, parallel with the railroad line. After a halt of an hour or more for dinner in the woods west of this road, at about 2 o'clock the head of our division debouched upon this ridge, in plain view of the city. The batteries attached to the division commenced taking up positions along the line of this highway, and the Ninth Corps with General S. W. Smith's division of the Sixteenth Corps, deployed along the line of the road; Smith's division on the right, Potter in the center and Welsh's division on the left. Of our division, the First Brigade, commanded by Colonel Henry Bowman of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, had the right and our (Third) brigade under Colonel Daniel Leasure, One Hundredth Pennsylvania, held the left. It was supposed that General Johnston could offer a strong resistance in defense of the capital of the state of the president of the Confederacy, and a severe battle was anticipated.

The Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel David Morrison commanding, was deployed as skirmishers, covering the front of the brigade. The day was lovely; the skies were blue and the meadows were "clad in living green," as the brigade came into line with colors unfurled and arms shining in the afternoon sun.

The line of battle stretched away to our right in plain sight for more than a mile, through a succession of open fields, and it was as fine a pageant of war as eye ever rested upon. Presently, the line being in readiness, the order to advance was given, and the divisions swept onward down through immense fields of tall corn, and then out into the grassy meadows and on to the railroad, and then into the dense woods beyond. The anticipated opposition was not met. A few shots were fired from a couple of small guns on the Canton road, north of the town, but did no harm. A few pickets or skirmishers near the railroad line opened a scattering fire and then quickly retreated up the hill. Our worst enemy was the heat, and when we reached the railroad a number of our men succumbed.

Beyond the railroad the woods were so dense that it was quite impossible for the mounted officers to force their way through, and they were obliged

to dismount and proceed on foot. In advancing through this dense wood, or "chapparal" as Colonel Leasure calls it in his report, it was found impossible to move in line and maintain formation, so the order was given to advance "by right of companies to the front," and in this formation we came out on the Canton road, and found that we had become separated from the rest of the brigade. We regained our contact, and, swinging around by a right wheel, the brigade took position at right angles with the Canton road, in which formation it advanced directly southward toward the city, until the state insane asylum had been reached and passed. Here a halt was made, as the left wing was advancing faster than the right, and by orders from General Sherman we bivouacked for the night.

Before daylight of the eleventh the brigade was in line, and as soon as the sun was up the whole division advanced toward Jackson. Our brigade was under the personal command of Colonel Leasure. The Second Michigan covered the advance as skirmishers. The brigade passed through some woods, descended a long slope, receiving a light fire of musketry, and a few shots of artillery, crossed the bed of a small stream, nearly dry, climbed a steep bank just beyond and entered the woods within about 400 yards of a battery which confronted us on the Canton road. This was known as the Cottonbale battery.

It was the supposition of all the officers of the brigade, including the commanding officer and Colonel Humphrey, commanding the skirmish line, that an assault was to be made on the enemy's line.

The Twentieth changed position from the left to the right of the Canton road, and lay down in the woods, while grape and canister howled above us, bringing down a perfect shower of leaves and branches, but strange to relate, not a man of the regiment was hurt.

The Second Michigan, which was on our left front, was pressing the skirmishers of the enemy, when word came down the skirmish line from the right, "forward skirmishers, double quick," and the regiment—about 160 men—went forward in their usual gallant style, and not only drove back the rebel skirmish line but took their pits, and drove the reserve within their main line of defense. Their loss in the charge was nearly sixty.

It seemed then that if the Ninth Corps had been ordered to assault, it might have carried the hill north of town, and rendered the city untenable for General Johnston, on that day.

But it afterward appeared that it was no part of General Sherman's plan to make an assault on Jackson.

In a letter written to General Grant on July 14, from his headquarters before Jackson, he says: "The works were too good to be assaulted, and orders were given to deploy and form line of circumvallation, about 1,500 yards from the enemy's parapets, with skirmishers close up, and their supports within 500 yards." This passage relates to the operations of the eleventh. (Official Records, Vol. XXIX, part 2, page 525).

Again, in his official report of the same operations, dated at camp on the Big Black, July 28, 1863, General Sherman says: "It was no part of the plan to assault the enemy's works, so the main bodies of infantry were kept well in re-

serve under cover, whilst the skirmishers were pushed forward as close as possible." (Same vol., page 535).

The brigade occupied the position it had gained through the night, and at daylight of the twelfth was relieved by Potter's division. On the fourteenth, the First Division relieved the Second and on the sixteenth was again relieved by Potter's division as before. During this time there was much artillery practice, but little infantry firing. On the night of the sixteenth there was great noise and uproar in the city, and in the morning the town was found to be evacuated by Johnston's army and a large part of the inhabitants.

That afternoon our brigade marched by a road leading north to Grant's ford on Pearl River, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of a body of rebel cavalry said to be on the west side of that stream. But we neither saw nor heard anything of such a body, and the next morning we marched to Madison station on the Mobile & Ohio railroad, where we began destroying the railroad, working southward toward Jackson. The eighteenth we destroyed about two miles of road. The country in that vicinity was a beautiful agricultural section, the fields were one great sea of waving corn.

Sunday, July 19, we moved south to a large plantation, belonging to a family by the name of Campbell. The men of the family and all the valuable negroes had gone to Georgia to escape the "Yankees."

Here we found abundance; fine cattle in the pastures, a cotton gin bursting with cotton, hams and bacon in the smoke-house, and peaches and melons in the orchards and fields.

That afternoon we received orders to report back to Jackson at once, and prepare to return to Milldale. We interpreted this to mean that we were to return north immediately. That evening we reached our old camp near the asylum, and that night occupied it for the last time.

July 20—The corps having been once more concentrated, started back toward Milldale, marching by way of Brownsville and thence to Messenger's Ford on the Big Black, and thence by Oak Ridge to Milldale, where the brigade encamped on the afternoon of July 23 after an exceedingly hard march by reason of the heat and dust. The first day's march was as trying as any the regiment ever made and men were obliged to fall out, and were taken up by the ambulances or wagons. The marches on the twenty-first and twenty-second were not so hard, and the distance made not so great. On the twenty-second we crossed the Big Black River and camped in the woods on Oak Ridge, and on the twenty-third, made an easy march to camp.

The number of the regiment who went on this expedition was 303, and, with the exception of a few who were overcome with heat, every man came back in better health than when he started.

About 180 had been left in camp at Milldale and Flower Hill unable to march. Many of these were found still sick and a few had died.

Both the ground and the water at Milldale were exceedingly bad. Dysentery and fevers prevailed. The creek rose suddenly with a heavy shower and flooded the camp, which increased the sickness.

Among the sick in camp was Dr. W. W. Paine, the assistant surgeon of the

regiment, who died while on the trip up the Mississippi. The loss of the brigade in the expedition to Jackson was sixty-two.

From July 24 until August 3 the regiment was in daily expectation of receiving orders to embark for the north, but it seemed impossible to secure the necessary boats. But on August 3, the welcome orders came, and at 2 o'clock p. m. the regiment marched to Snyder's Landing, just below Snyder's Bluff, where it went on board the steamer "Westmoreland," while the Second and Seventeenth Michigan embarked on the steamer "Ohio Belle."

At 3 o'clock on the morning of August 4 we bade adieu to the murkey Yazoo, the "river of death," bound for Kentucky to resume the campaign so unexpectedly interrupted on June 4, just two months before. The regiment was placed on the upper deck of the steamer, while Edwards' battery (M. Third U. S.), occupied the main or lower deck. The Westmoreland was a poor boat, and sailing against the current the progress was slow.

On the sixth Dr. Paine died, and that night the boat reached Memphis at dark, and the regiment was permitted to disembark and spend the night on shore. Most of them camped down on the streets near the levee. At Memphis, Lieutenant Lounsbury and a party of men who were left behind in Kentucky, met the regiment and returned with it.

August 9—The regiment reached Cairo in the morning, and during the forenoon took cars for Cincinnati, Ohio, where it arrived at about 9 a. m. on Tuesday, August 11, and marched to the Fifth Street Market to get dinner, thus completing the circuit since March 26, when we took breakfast at the same place on our way to Louisville. That afternoon we crossed the Ohio River to Covington, Kentucky.

So ended the Mississippi campaign. We had traveled several thousand miles since leaving Columbia on June 4, and had lost two officers and eighteen men by sickness, but none by battle.

It was a very hard, trying, and exhausting experience, which left its permanent marks upon those who survived.

In fact, when we reached Kentucky again, we were little better than an "invalid corps." Many still suffered from the diseases contracted at Milldale, and more yet from very annoying and persistent sores upon the legs, thought to be produced by minute insects, called "jiggers," which penetrated under the skin. The Mississippi campaign was about as prolific of disease and death as the camp at Fredericksburg, though the morale and spirits of the camp did not suffer so much.

In the appendix will be found the official report of Major General John G. Parke, commanding the Ninth Corps, and of Colonel Daniel Leasure, commanding the brigade. No regimental reports were made, except that of the Second Michigan of their charge, July 11.

During the Mississippi campaign our division was commanded by General Thomas Welsh, formerly colonel of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania.

The First Brigade, commanded by Colonel Henry Bowman, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, consisted of the following regiments: Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, Seventeenth Michigan, Twenty-seventh Michigan, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania.

Our brigade was designated as the Third, commanded by Colonel Leasure, and consisted of the Second Michigan, Colonel William Humphrey; Eighth Michigan, Colonel Frank Graves; Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith; Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel David Morrison; One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Mathew M. Dawson.

The Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Twenty-ninth Massachusetts and Forty-sixth New York, under command of Colonel Christ, were attached to Potter's (Second) division of the third brigade.

CHAPTER IX. .

CINCINNATI TO KNOXVILLE.

August 11, 1863.

September 30, 1863.

On August 11 we once more set foot on "the dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky. It was a gloomy and nasty day, and we were temporarily quartered in some filthy old barracks which had been occupied since near the beginning of the war.

The next day the regiment was paid off, and at 9 o'clock in the evening, took cars for Nicholasville, arriving at Cynthiana, soon after sunrise of the thirteenth, where we had breakfast. Passing through the beautiful blue-grass region and the city of Lexington, the home and burial place of Henry Clay, we arrived at Nicholasville, at about 3 o'clock p. m., and went into camp near the town.

August 14—We marched at 7 o'clock to a point three miles south of Nicholasville, where, in the midst of a beautiful country, we settled down for a two weeks' rest and recuperation. Our camp was made in a beautiful open grove of stately oaks, in the midst of the "blue grass region," with a great abundance of springs of the purest water near at hand.

The camp was named "Camp Parke," after our corps commander, and was located on the east side of the macadamized road, leading down to Hickman's Bridge, Camp Nelson, Crab Orchard, and on toward Cumberland Gap.

At Cincinnati several of the officers had procured leaves of absence for twenty days to allow them to go to Michigan; among these was Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith, commanding the regiment, and the command again devolved temporarily upon Major Cutcheon.

Among the pleasant memories of its campaigns, the men of the regiment will always remember the days spent at Camp Parke. There was no enemy near, duties were light, and but for the number suffering from disease contracted in Mississippi, nothing could have been wished more pleasant in the way of soldiering. The usual parades and inspections were maintained, and camp guards were kept up, but rather as a matter of discipline than of necessity.

On August 20, 200 men were detailed with a proper complement of officers, with a like detail from the other regiments of the brigade, to proceed to Nicholasville and thence escort the remains of Major General William Nelson to the place of permanent interment, at Camp Dick Robinson, where he had commanded the first Union camp in Kentucky. This detail took the greater part of the men who were able to march. The escort proceeded to Nicholasville, and then returned over the same road, passing through Camp Parke, and camped the first night at Camp Nelson, on the Kentucky River. August 21 they proceeded to

Camp Dick Robinson where the ceremonies of burial were duly performed, and the escort was then entertained at a Kentucky "barbecue," at a place near by. A large number of sheep were roasted and served to the men. That night the escort, which was under the command of Major Cutcheon of the Twentieth, returned as far as Camp Nelson, where it spent the night. Many of the men pushed on to Camp Parke. August 22 the escort returned to Camp Parke, arriving by the middle of the forenoon.

August 23—General Edward Ferrero took command of the division, which he retained throughout the fall and winter. He had formerly been colonel of the Fifty-first New York Volunteers, and was promoted for gallantry at the battle of Antietam.

On August 27 orders were received to prepare to march in the morning, and on the twenty-eighth we started for Crab Orchard, thirty-three miles further south, where there were springs of mineral water which it was hoped might be of benefit to those who were still in bad condition from the Mississippi campaign.

That night we bivouacked at Camp Dick Robinson, and the next day passed through Lancaster, and on August 30, arrived at Crab Orchard, and, passing about two miles beyond the village, made our camp.

We remained at this camp until September 10, while General Burnside, under whose command we now came once more, was pushing forward the Twenty-third Army Corps through the Gaps to the westward of Cumberland Gap, and moving upon Knoxville, the central point, and, in a sense, the capital of East Tennessee.

At Crab Orchard Lieutenant Colonel Smith returned and resumed command of the regiment.

The camp at Crab Orchard was not as pleasant as that at Camp Parke, but the time was spent in the same way, in drills, inspections and picket and guard duty. The principal business was to rest and recuperate. The health of the command had greatly improved since we arrived in Kentucky, and a good many men had come up and joined who had been left behind, yet there were many invalids still suffering from the diseases and troublesome sores contracted in the Mississippi campaign.

On September 9 the expected order was received to prepare to march with eight days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition, which signified that we were bound for East Tennessee. On September 10 we marched to Mount Vernon, the county seat of Rockcastle county. This was on the edge of the mountain country, and the roads began to be rough and difficult. On the eleventh, the command started at 5 o'clock, having been awakened at half past three, and marched sixteen miles to the Little Rockcastle River, where camp was made for the night.

September 12—The division marched to within two miles of London, county seat of Laurel county, where we camped and signed the pay roll, the paymaster having come up with the troops. The thirteenth being Sunday, the command rested.

September 14—Passed through Loudon and marched to a point half way

between Loudon and Barbourville. This day we met some 2,200 rebel prisoners, of General Frazer's brigade, recently captured at Cumberland Gap.

The regiment arrived at Barbourville at noon on the fifteenth and camped one mile beyond. The next day we marched along the course of the Cumberland River, and camped ten miles from Barbourville. On the seventeenth the regiment was paid off, and remained in camp. On the eighteenth it rained and the division again remained in camp. On the nineteenth we crossed the Cumberland River, and on the next day, Sunday, September 20, we passed through Cumberland Gap, and descended the mountain into East Tennessee, and camped at its foot. In Cumberland Gap there was a small granite monument which marks the meeting point of three states—Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Here it was possible for one to sit in three states at once, and several tried the experiment.

Those of the Twentieth who were with the regiment on this march will not forget the magnificent views from the summit of the mountain at the Gap. The mountains and hills rose in ranges to the east like great waves, range on range, until the vision was bounded by the great Smoky Mountain of North Carolina, about a hundred miles away. The air was beautifully clear, and Clinch Mountains seemed only a few miles away.

It had been only a few days since Cumberland Gap was captured. At the time we passed through there it was occupied by some regiments of the Twenty-third Corps. As we now enter on a new campaign it may be well here to recall the organization of the troops at this time.

General A. E. Burnside was in supreme command of the Department of the Ohio, including the field of operations in Tennessee, and of the troops operating in the field, consisting of two divisions of the Ninth Corps and three divisions of the Twenty-third Corps and two brigades of cavalry, under the command of Major General George L. Hartsuff.

The Ninth Corps was commanded by Brigadier General R. B. Potter, and the First Division by Brigadier General Edward Ferrero, while Colonel John F. Hartranft commanded the Second Division.

First Brigade—Colonel Davis Morrison, Seventy-ninth New York.

Second Brigade—Colonel Benjamin C. Christ, Fiftieth Pennsylvania.

Third Brigade—Colonel Daniel Leasure, One Hundredth Pennsylvania.

Second Michigan—Colonel William Humphrey.

Seventeenth Michigan—Lieutenant Colonel Comstock.

Twentieth Michigan—Lieutenant Colonel Smith.

One Hundredth Pennsylvania—Lieutenant Colonel Dawson.

These regiments averaged not far from 300 muskets each. The entire Ninth Corps numbered only about 6,000 men, all told.

On the twenty-first of September we marched to and through Tazewell, and forded a branch of Clinch River, and camped beyond Sycamore.

September 22 we forded the Clinch River, crossed the Clinch Mountains, then fording the Holston River, camped within a mile of Morristown, having marched twenty-two miles on this day. The next day we marched to the town

of Morristown and took cars on the East Tennessee railroad to Greenville, fourteen miles northeast and within twelve miles of the North Carolina line.

After a short stop at Greenville, the brigade again took cars and proceeded to Knoxville, arriving there on the morning of September 24, and went into camp on the bank of the Holston river about half a mile above the town.

The march from Crab Orchard had been made by easy stages, and the command reached Knoxville in good condition. There we had unlimited supplies of pure air and water, but rather limited allowance of rations, as every pound of supplies had to be hauled in wagons from the terminus of the railroad in Kentucky.

Officers and men who had been left behind at Crab Orchard and other points were gradually coming up with the regiment, and the moderate marching had served to get the command in better physical condition than if it had remained inactive in camp. Here, having reached a new field of operations, we are ready for the next chapter, which will embrace the East Tennessee campaign.

CHAPTER X.

THE EAST TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN.

September 30, 1863.

November 10, 1863.

East Tennessee was one of the most loyal sections of the Union. Scarcely any northern state raised so large a per cent of Union troops for service against the rebellion as those counties of East Tennessee lying between the Cumberland Mountains and the border of North Carolina.

Ever since the beginning of the war this section had been the object of the deepest solicitude to President Lincoln, not so much from a military and strategic, as from a political standpoint, and as affecting the status of the loyal people throughout the south. Again and again he had appealed to the military authorities to organize some relief and protection for these people, persecuted and harried as they were by their secession government and people. Early in 1862 a movement was organized for this purpose, and Cumberland Gap was seized and held for some months, but when General Bragg and his army advanced into Kentucky in September of that year, General Morgan was obliged to abandon his position at the Gap for fear of being caught between two forces and compelled to surrender. After General Burnside was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, he was sent west to the Department of the Ohio, for the express purpose of holding Kentucky and redeeming East Tennessee.

When the order came, in the first week in June, for the Ninth Corps to proceed to Mississippi, General Burnside was on the point of organizing his army to push forward into Tennessee. While the Ninth Corps was absent General John H. Morgan made his raid through Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio, and for a time again disarranged General Burnside's plans; but with the return of his old corps to Kentucky he at once gave the order for the advance. The Second Division of the Ninth Corps arrived at Covington on August 20 and on the same day the order for the movement of the Twenty-third Corps was given.

On that date General Hartsuff's corps was stationed as follows:

- 1—General Julius White's division at Columbia, Kentucky.
- 2—General Haskell's division at Stanford, Kentucky.
- 3—General Carter's division at Crab Orchard, Kentucky.
- 4—Colonel Graham's brigade, cavalry, Glasgow, Kentucky.
- 5—Colonel Wolford's brigade, cavalry, Somerset, Kentucky.

These forces were ordered to move on three separate routes and concentrate at and near Kingston, Tennessee, about forty miles from Knoxville or Loudon. And there the concentration was made on or about September 1, and by Septem-

ber 4, both Knoxville and Loudon had been occupied in force, and Colonel De Courcey with a provisional brigade was closing in upon Cumberland Gap from the north while General Shackleford with a brigade of cavalry was moving to cut off the retreat of the garrison on the south. The result was that on September 9, Cumberland Gap, with all its garrison, guns and material surrendered to General Burnside. This was the very day on which our division received orders to march from Crab Orchard.

For particulars of the march of the rest of the corps, see "Itinerary of Ninth Army Corps, August 1-October 28," in the appendix.

By September 30 the entire corps had arrived at Knoxville and was encamped in the immediate vicinity of that city.

The strength of the corps was at this date a little less than 6,000 men (Official Records, Vol. XXX, part 2, p. 557). Our (First) division was divided into three brigades of four regiments each:

First Brigade—Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, Eighth Michigan, Seventy-ninth New York and Forty-fifth Pennsylvania.

Second Brigade—Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, Twenty-seventh Michigan, Forty-sixth New York and Fiftieth Pennsylvania.

Third Brigade—Second Michigan, Seventeenth Michigan, Twentieth Michigan and One Hundredth Pennsylvania.

General Burnside was under orders from General Halleck to extend his right southward along the west bank of the Tennessee until he connected with the left of General Rosecrans' army, then at Chattanooga, and he was preparing to do so when in the early days of October Major General Samuel Jones of the Confederate Army with about 6,000 men advanced from the direction of Jonesboro, near the Virginia line, and threatened General Burnside's line of supply and communication *via* Cumberland Gap. The first necessity, therefore, of General Burnside's situation was to meet and repel this column of General Jones, and clear his left flank and rear, before extending his right toward Chattanooga.

This was the situation of the East Tennessee campaign at the beginning of October, 1863.

On September 28 our brigade had crossed to the south side of the Holston and bivouacked about a mile and a half from the river, where we lay quietly in camp, doing picket duty to the south until October 8. On that day we recrossed the Holston in the morning, and marched to the railroad station, where we lay waiting transportation until the morning of the ninth. Friday morning, October 9, 1863, we took the cars at 9 o'clock and at 10 o'clock started for Bull's Gap, where we arrived just at evening, and disembarked and bivouacked for the night. Generals Burnside and Parke (who was chief of staff), Potter, commanding the corps, and Ferrero, commanding the First Division, all accompanied the troops.

Early next morning we were up and on the move. The cavalry pushed the enemy's advance back as far as Blue Springs, about nine miles from Greenville. By 11 o'clock, October 10, the head of our corps reached the hills overlooking the little hamlet of Blue Springs, just beyond which the rebels occupied a low range of hills, where the road to Greenville made a sharp turn to the right.

The cavalry went in as skirmishers, but were not expected to do more than develop the enemy's position and discover their weak points, and the most available line of attack.

At the time we thought the attack of the cavalry very feeble and ineffective, and so it was; but it afterward proved that this was only a feint to hold the enemy, under General John S. Williams, in position while Colonel John W. Foster with a brigade of union cavalry could make a detour around their right, by way of Rogersville, and come in upon their rear between Greenville and Rheatown, so that they would thus be practically surrounded. It was near 4 o'clock when our division marched down through the village and our brigade turned to the right along a narrow crest around the extremity of which the Greenville road deflected. The position of the enemy extended from beyond the wagon road on their right across and beyond the railroad upon their left.

The force of the enemy consisted of the brigade of General John S. Williams, with one battery of four guns, and a small brigade under Major General A. E. Jackson, composed mostly of home guards. (See report of General Williams, Official Record, Vol. XXX, part 2, page 639).

The First Brigade of our division under Colonel Morrison, Seventy-ninth New York, had the right of the line; our brigade (the Third) under Colonel Leasure, One Hundredth Pennsylvania, the center, and the Second Brigade under Colonel Christ held the left. The advance was made in fine style, and the enemy easily pushed back, with but slight loss. The resistance was more stubborn in front of the First Brigade than elsewhere. The total loss of the division was only fifty-nine.

During the night preparations were made for a vigorous attack the first thing in the morning, but the Rebel commander had got wind of the movement of Colonel Foster to his rear, and early in the night began to withdraw to Greenville, and at daybreak continued his retreat on Rheatown. Before reaching there he came upon Foster's brigade in position, but the latter, instead of making a determined stand, allowed himself to be pushed off the line of retreat, and the enemy's force to escape.

General Burnside pursued vigorously with his whole force, infantry, cavalry and artillery. The cavalry came up with the retreating rebel force near Rheatown, and a running fight ensued, but General Williams with the brigade of Jackson made good his escape to Jonesboro, and thence to Bristol. We pushed on to Rheatown and a little beyond, where we bivouacked for the night and rested until Tuesday, October 13, when we set out to return to Knoxville. Camped that night three miles from Blue Springs; on the fourteenth marched to Bull's Gap; on the fifteenth to Morristown, where, on the sixteenth we took cars, arriving at Knoxville at about 2 p. m. the same day, having been absent just a week. In the fight at Blue Springs our regiment was fortunate, having only one man killed and two wounded. We camped at Knoxville in a grove east of town near First Creek.

Remained in camp at Knoxville until October 20th when we set out for Loudon, marching out on the Kingston road until we came to the forks near Camp-

bell's Station, where we took the Loudon road and passing through Lenoir Station camped on the 21st between Lenoir and Loudon Bridge, and on the 22d arrived at Loudon, crossed the river, passed through the village, and camped in the fields, perhaps a mile from the bridge. The Tennessee River at this point is a broad stream, and the railroad bridge had been destroyed by the Confederates. A very substantial pontoon bridge had been constructed by the Engineer Corps.

We remained at Loudon supporting the cavalry in their reconnaissances until October 28th when we recrossed the river to the north side and marched back to Lenoir Station, and went into camp in a piece of woods about half a mile northeast of the village.

Here we were directed to make ourselves as comfortable quarters as we could, and the next few days were occupied in building huts with such material as we could get hold of.

The men had just completed their huts and got moved into them, when about midnight of November 6th we were ordered to turn out at once, and prepare to move on the railroad.

We moved to the station and, after standing for two or three hours in mud and darkness, the cars arrived and we embarked at daylight for Knoxville.

During the early part of the day we remained on board the cars, but in the afternoon disembarked and bivouacked for the night on the high ground north of the railroad station.

The occasion of our sudden movement was the surprise and capture of the larger part of the Seventh Ohio Cavalry and Second Tennessee Mounted Infantry and Phillip's battery of four guns, at Rogersville, on the 6th.

We remained at Knoxville, ready to move at any moment, until November 9th, when we again took the cars and returned to Lenoir Station and reoccupied our old camp. This ends the first period of the East Tennessee campaign. Marked by much marching, little fighting, and less rations. During the period after we moved to Loudon the season had been very rainy and disagreeable, and the roads had become almost impassible. When we returned to the camp at Lenoir it was with the hope and expectation of a long period of rest and quiet. But that hope was destined not to be realized.

CHAPTER XI.

THE KNOXVILLE CAMPAIGN—CAMPBELL'S STATION.

November 10, 1863.

November 16, 1863.

November 10, 1863, found us snugly ensconced in our log cabins at Lenoir Station, with our forces in peaceable possession from Loudon on the southwest, to Greenville on the northeast. General Burnside and his headquarters were at Knoxville, and the two small divisions of the Ninth Corps, now numbering about 5,900 men, all told, were encamped at and about Lenoir Station. General Julius White, with the Second Division of the Twenty-third Corps, and a small brigade of cavalry, consisting of the Eighth Michigan Cavalry and One Hundreth and Twelfth Illinois Mounted Infantry, was encamped at Loudon.

The men of the camp had settled down to the belief that we were to enjoy a long rest, and that Lenoir, on the line of the Tennessee, was to be our "winter quarters." But this dream of comfort was destined to be rudely disturbed.

On the 10th Colonel Leasure, commanding the brigade, was detached and ordered to Cincinnati on special duty, and did not again rejoin. Colonel William Humphrey, of the Second Michigan Infantry, was assigned to the command of the brigade, as senior officer.

November 11th the regiment was routed out before daylight and stacked arms on the color line and were ordered to be ready to fall in at a moment's notice.

The same thing occurred on the 12th and on the 13th. We did not then understand the occasion for this precaution. On the morning of the 14th orders came to break camp and prepare to move to Knoxville.

The regimental baggage was mostly loaded upon wagons and ordered toward Knoxville.

By the middle of the forenoon General Julius White with his division arrived at Lenoir, from Loudon, falling back in the direction of Knoxville.

At about the same time General Burnside and his staff appeared, coming by special train from Knoxville, and a consultation was immediately held. It soon became known that General Longstreet with his army corps of the Confederate Army together with General Wheeler's division of cavalry had arrived at or near Loudon the night of the 13th and was supposed to be then crossing the Tennessee River a few miles below that place, at a point called Huff's (or Hough's) Ferry, and that it was General Burnside's orders to hold them in check as long as possible. Accordingly at about noon of the 14th everything was faced about and put in motion toward Loudon.

The roads were in fearful condition from frequent rains, and already much

cut up by the movement of General White's trains and artillery. At about 4 p. m. the head of the column reached a point opposite Loudon, and skirmishing then commenced, Chapin's brigade of White's division leading the advance.

Huff's Ferry was about five miles by the road on the north side, beyond the site of the railroad bridge, and the enemy's pickets and skirmishers were pushed briskly back and driven into the woods around Huff's Ferry.

It was nearly dark when Ferrero's division pushed up the long slope of the hill in front of the Ferry, and the enemy was found in force and in too good a position to be dislodged.

That night we lay upon our arms, supperless, fireless and sleepless.

Before daylight General Burnside gave orders to withdraw, having decided to draw Longstreet on to Knoxville, and make his fight there rather than in the open field at Huff's Ferry, or thereabouts. Even before the first break of day of the 15th we withdrew as quietly as possible from the wooded hills where we had spent the night, and by sunrise we had reached the open place near the Loudon Bridge. The Second Brigade of General White's division of the Twenty-third Corps covered the withdrawal, and just before reaching Loudon had a sharp skirmish with the advance of the enemy, in an effort to save a caisson which had become stalled in the mud. The road was, if possible, in a worse condition than on the previous day.

At Loudon Chapin's brigade passed to the front, and Seigfried's brigade of Hartranft's division covered the rear. The whole column now retired to Lenoir Station, reaching there at about noon. Soon after noon, the Twentieth was sent back about two miles to a point where the telegraph road from Kingston came in from the north, with orders to hold that junction until the Second Division had passed that point, and then report back.

The regiment moved back quickly, and covered the withdrawal of the Second Division, and then returned to Lenoir, where it was put in position on the extreme left of the line, which extended in a semi-circle around the village of Lenoir, covering the roads from Loudon to Kingston, on which the enemy's force was advancing. This was Sunday.

As we lay there, tired, sleepy, muddy and hungry, we could not help thinking of our comfortable huts hardly more than a mile away, which we had built with so much care and labor, and left only twenty-four hours before.

That afternoon and evening the enemy attacked our pickets several times, in order to determine whether we were still in force. The men were forbidden to build fires or to lay aside their arms. The night was frosty and a cold fog hung thick over the valley.

Between 3 and 4 o'clock on the morning of the 16th our brigade, consisting of the Second, Seventeenth and Twentieth Michigan—the One Hundredth Pennsylvania having been detached as escort to the trains back to Knoxville—withdraw to a point near to our old camp.

On November 20th the strength of the full brigade was officially reported at 803. And as the loss at Campbell's Station on the 16th was 145, and the losses at Knoxville prior to the 20th, would make this up to 150, it would seem that

the strength of the three Michigan regiments of the brigade on the 16th, in the absence of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, could not have exceeded 650 or 700 men.

At a point near the military railroad station at Lenoir, a train of wagons belonging to White's division of the Twenty-third Corps, had been abandoned by order of General Burnside, in order that the teams might be used in hauling the artillery of the Ninth Corps, which had been stalled in the mud, and these wagons were ordered to be destroyed.

A part of the Twentieth Michigan was detailed for the work of destruction. The wagons were in part loaded with officers' baggage, and in part with rations, and two or three with ammunition. The wheels of the wagons were cut down, the tongues chopped off and the ammunition thrown into a nearby pond. The men engaged in the destruction saved as much of the rations as they could conveniently dispose about their persons, and these articles, thus saved from destruction, stood them in good stead during the days of the siege of Knoxville, from November 17th to December 5th.

At the break of day on the 16th the Confederates advanced, to find only a skirmish line in front of them. They captured one company of an Ohio regiment who had been on the advance picket line, and who had not been notified to withdraw. All the troops excepting Humphrey's brigade were now well on their way toward Campbell's Station, at which place, near the junction of the Kingston and Loudon roads, General Burnside had decided to make a stand, in order to give his trains time to reach Knoxville, also to give one day more to prepare the defense of that place. Those who wish to study this campaign from the inside, and see the motives and purposes which actuated General Burnside, can find it all in the Official Records of the Rebellion, Vol. XXXI, part 1, beginning at page 255. But here it is all we can do to trace the part of the Twentieth Michigan with its absolutely necessary relations to the other parts of the army. The official reports of General Potter, commanding the corps, of General Ferrero, commanding the division, and of Colonel William Humphrey, commanding the brigade, of the battle of Campbell's Station, are so full and satisfactory that only a brief narrative will be given here.

The three Michigan regiments, with one section of Roemer's battery, had been designated by General Ferrero as rearguard, and soon after it was fully daylight it took the road, the guns in advance, the Second Michigan in the lead, the Twentieth following and the Seventeenth in the rear. If the roads had been bad the day before, they were well-nigh impassable on the 16th. Much of the time we marched outside the road through the fields and woods.

The enemy, though almost constantly in sight, made no attack of consequence, until we reached a point about two miles south of the village of Campbell's Station, in front of a small stream called "Turkey Creek."

Here, they attempted by a front attack to hold us from joining the main body at Campbell's Station, while a flanking force could be pushed around our left, with the purpose of cutting us off.

The Seventeenth Michigan formed in line of battle in front of the creek, while the Twentieth and Second crossed, and formed on a hill just back of the same;

the Second on the right and the Twentieth on the left of the road, as we faced the rear. Here the brigade became warmly engaged, the Seventeenth suffering severely.

That regiment moved to the left and forded the creek, and, passing around the left flank of the Twentieth, reached the road and retired down the same a few hundred yards to the line of a piece of woods, where they took up a new position.

Here, the Second and Twentieth, retiring in excellent order, by successive movements took their positions on the right of the Seventeenth, the Twentieth being immediately on the left of the road and the Second on the right.

Here the fight was renewed with increased fury, and almost immediately the regiment suffered its greatest loss in the death of Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith, who fell pierced through the brain with a rebel bullet. Colonel Smith was in every respect a model soldier. Cool in action, considerate in camp, at all times courageous; his excellent example inspired cheerfulness under hardship, and resolute devotion to duty. The Twentieth lost a number of grand men, all deserving of high honor and lasting remembrance, but Colonel Smith does not rank second to any one of them in all that goes to make up a good soldier. His body was carried from the field by the ambulance corps and sent home.

After the fall of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, Major Cutcheon assumed command, and with the exception of thirty days that he was ordered to Michigan on recruiting duty, was continuously on duty as commanding officer until he was wounded at Spottsylvania Court House, May 10, 1864.

The three regiments now fell back into the woods, when the enemy again attempted to turn our left flank. Colonel Humphrey ordered a charge, and the Seventeenth and Twentieth went forward with a dash and drove them out of the woods. Under cover of this success we fell back in perfect order from the woods and across a wide field until we reached the line of Hartranft's Second Division, then sharply engaged on the Kingston road, just past the junction.

Here, we moved to the right of the road, in support of Chapin's brigade of the Twenty-third Corps, where for the first and only time in our history, we came into touch with the Twenty-third Michigan, which came from the district next adjoining our own and left the state at about the same time.

It was past noon when we were relieved, and retired from the front line, and placed in reserve in a slight hollow where a small stream crossed the road. Here, General Ferrero, whom we had not before seen since crossing Turkey Creek, rode down in front of the brigade and made them a little speech, thanking them for the gallant fight they had made.

We remained in reserve until near night, when we passed through the ancient village of Campbell's Station (where Admiral Farragut was born), and took position in support of the batteries upon an eminence to the northward of that station. An attempt to dislodge us was repulsed by the batteries. As soon as it was dark we took up the march to Knoxville, where we arrived at about 5 o'clock on the morning of the 17th tired, hungry, footsore, sleepy, and nearly exhausted.

The total loss of the regiment at Campbell's Station was 37, but it is safe to

say that the loss of Colonel Smith was greater to the regiment than all the rest.—killed, 3; wounded, 30; missing, 4. So ends the campaign of Campbell's Station.

The present seems to be a proper opportunity to record a few words of appreciation of Colonel William Humphrey, of the Second Michigan. This was the first occasion on which he commanded the brigade in action, though he commanded it frequently afterwards.

He entered the service as captain in the Second Michigan, April 25, 1861, one of the original officers of that regiment. He served with distinguished gallantry and ability through the Peninsular campaign of 1862, and came into the same brigade with the Twentieth on November 15, 1862. At Lebanon, Kentucky, in April, 1863, he received his commission as colonel, having been promoted from captain over Major Cornelius Byington and Lieutenant Colonel Louis Dillman.

He remained colonel of that regiment until mustered out, September 30, 1864. August 1, 1864, he was appointed brigadier general by brevet "for conspicuous and gallant service both as regimental and brigade commander throughout the campaign." He continued to command the brigade until January 11, 1864, when his regiment "veteranized."

He was again assigned to the command at the battle of Spottsylvania Court House, May 12, 1864, and again on June 19, 1864, after the wounding of Colonel Christ on the 18th at Petersburg, Virginia. He commanded the brigade from that date until September 29, 1864 in the trenches of Petersburg, the battles of the Crater, Weldon Railroad, and Ream's Station. He proved himself always, as at Campbell's Station, a courageous, clear-headed and capable commander. In civil life he was as capable as in military command. He was elected auditor general in 1866, and held that office for four terms of two years each. He died in January, 1899, after a long, useful and honorable career.

CHAPTER XII.

SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE—FORT SANDERS.

November 17, 1863.

November 29, 1863.

If it were put to a vote of the living members of the Twentieth Michigan to say which was the hardest day's march in their experience, it is probable that the majority would select the march from Lenoir Station to Knoxville, November 16 and 17, 1863. The distance of more than twenty-four miles was made in a little less than twenty-four hours, during eight of which they were constantly under fire, and for two hours were engaged in a desperate struggle with a force fully ten times their own, supplied with artillery and accompanied by cavalry so superior to our own that we were in constant danger of being out-flanked and our line of retreat cut off.

As heretofore stated, the condition of the roads was such as to render them almost impassible, and to add to the difficulty, the night of the 16th was intensely dark, and every stream was swollen beyond its usual stage. Besides, this was the third night that the men had been practically without sleep. At Huff's Ferry and at Lenoir they had not been permitted to lay aside knapsacks or arms, and during the night march from Campbell's Station to Knoxville were not even allowed to fall out of the ranks. If they slept at all, it was only for a few moments at a time, snatched during brief delays, and perhaps standing in a fence corner. Then, too, their only rations were such as they had taken in their haversacks on leaving camp at Lenoir on the morning of the 14th, and such as some of them managed to save from the destruction of the wagon train on the morning of the 16th.

When, therefore, our brigade climbed the hill on which stood the fort afterward known as Fort Sanders, they were about as completely exhausted as any body of troops well could be.

When the word was passed along the column that they would now be permitted to rest for a short time, most of them unrolled their blankets just where they stood, and in a few moments were sleeping the deep sleep of exhaustion.

When we were awakened, some two hours later, the sun was up and the several divisions and brigades were moving into positions for the defense of Knoxville. The town is situated on the north or northwest bank of Holston River and surrounded by a succession of hills which tend to make the place easily defensible. Three small streams, known as First Creek, Second Creek and Third Creek, flow from the northwest in a generally parallel course into the Holston, First Creek through the middle of the town. Second Creek through the western part, near College Hill, and Third Creek about half a mile west of the town,

crossing the Loudon road beyond Fort Sanders. The Loudon or Kingston road enters the town from the southwest on a course nearly parallel with the river. As it nears the town it rises over a considerable ridge between Second and Third Creeks, known as White's Hill, the most commanding portion of this hill being from one hundred to two hundred yards north of the road. Five or six hundred yards further east, between the road and the river was College Hill, crowned with the college buildings, around which was constructed a redoubt for artillery, known as College Hill Battery.

The engineers, under the direction of General (then Captain) O. M. Poe, chief of engineers on General Burnside's staff, had in advance located and marked on the ground a line of works, following College Hill, White's Hill, and the ridge connecting it with an eminence known as Temperance Hill, on the north of the city, beyond the station of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad.

The most important work of defense was a half finished star fort on White's Hill, which had been commenced by the Confederates under General Buckner, and known to them as Fort Loudon. Captain Poe had improved this, but did not have time to complete it before the siege.

This fort, known to us as Fort Sanders, was the key to the defensive positions, sweeping with its guns the space to the river on its left, the open slopes and hills in front, and enfilading the approach to our line on our right nearly or quite to the point where Second Creek crossed the railroad, beyond the station, near which the right of our division rested. The division took up positions in the following order: The First Brigade, Colonel Morrison, commanding, from Holston River to Loudon road; the Third Brigade, Colonel William Humphrey, commanding, left resting on Loudon road, extending through Fort Sanders and joining Christ's brigade midway between the fort and the railroad station; the Second Brigade, extending from the right of the Third Brigade to Second Creek; Hartranft's division was on the right of ours.

From a point in front (west) of the fort around to the right of our division, the railroad ran along the base of the hill, so that the intrenchments were nearly parallel with it.

Benjamin's Battery of twenty-pounder Parrott guns occupied the west front of the fort, commanding the Loudon road, the space between it and the river, and around to the northwest and north to and beyond the Clinton road, on our right.

Buckley's Rhode Island Battery of twelve-pounder brass Napoleon guns occupied the rear face of the fort, commanding the valley of Second Creek in rear of the fort and the approaches to College Hill, as well as Colonel Morrison's line, nearly to the river. One section of Roemer's New York Battery was placed in semi-circular redoubts immediately on the right of the fort, sweeping the slopes in front of the north angle of Sanders, and enfilading the space between the works and the railroad on our right.

Along this line of defense, on the morning of November 17th every man who could be provided with a pick, shovel or spade, was set at work upon the entrenchments. All day long they toiled like beavers, and by night had a very good line of works. The regiments of the brigade were posted as follows:

One Hundredth Pennsylvania, from Loudon road to the fort; Twentieth Michigan, two companies in the unfinished north star of the fort, the other companies extending to the right, in front of and to the right of Roemer's guns and connecting with the Seventeenth and Second Michigan on our right. The Seventy-ninth New York of the First Brigade was also in the fort.

The official reports of General Ferrero, Colonel Humphrey and Major Cutcheon, made within a few days after the occurrences, will be found in the appendix, and are so full as to render a detailed account of the siege unnecessary here, but for the sake of a connected narrative, a brief summary is here given.

Toward evening of the 17th the enemy began to make his appearance on the Loudon road, and moved columns toward our right along a ridge about 1,000 or 1,500 yards west of our line. On the morning of the 18th General W. P. Sanders with his brigade of cavalry was holding the position at the Armstrong House on a prominent swell of ground, about a mile from the fort on the Loudon road. Here he was attacked by the enemy's infantry in force and forced back from his first position, but rallied a part of his force on a nearer hill, where soon after he fell mortally wounded, at the head of his troops.

This fight was within plain sight from the fort, where we were stationed, and which from that day, by order of General Burnside, took the name of Fort Sanders.

General Sanders was a most gallant officer. He had been colonel of a Tennessee regiment and was only recently promoted to brigadier general. He was a graduate of West Point Academy and was a classmate of our old commander, General O. M. Poe.

The same evening our cavalry on the north of the Holston fell back within the fortifications and the investment of Knoxville was begun. On the evening of the 20th of December the Seventeenth Michigan made a sortie and drove out the rebel picket from a house about 800 yards in advance of Fort Sanders, on the Loudon road, and set fire to the buildings. While they were returning to our line, the light of the burning buildings disclosed their position to the enemy, who shelled them vigorously, with the result that Lieutenant Billingsly and one other were killed and four men wounded.

This unfortunate event happened when the regiment was almost within its lines.

During the following day our regiment built a new line of breastworks further back on the crest of the hill, and moved back, filling up the old rifle pit. On the 21st it rained heavily all day and the new pits were converted into mud holes.

On the 23d it was discovered that during the previous night the enemy had run a rifle pit from a piece of woods beyond the railroad on our left front, into the open field directly in front of the fort.

Bushes from the woods had been set up along the parapet of the rifle pit, and from behind this screen the rebel sharpshooters commenced firing upon every one seen moving within our works.

General Ferrero determined to dislodge these sharpshooters, and directed Colonel Humphrey as soon as it was daylight next morning, to send a regiment and take and hold the pits.

Colonel Humphrey selected the Second Michigan, commanded by Major Cornelius Byington, for the duty.

At about 7 o'clock on the morning of the 24th the Second moved out of our works and formed in line in the railroad cut, directly in front of the Twentieth, our skirmishers on that line being ordered to support the movement. The Second charged across the field in most gallant style, but the men began to fall the moment they left the railroad cut. It was a thrilling sight to see those brave men go forward in the face of almost certain destruction. They charged about 300 yards, and what was left of them threw themselves upon the enemy's rifle pit, but at once found themselves enfiladed by a furious fire from the woods upon the left. They held on there for about thirty minutes, and those that were left then fell back to the railroad, having lost almost one-half of their number, including Major Byington, mortally wounded, Adjutant Noble killed, and three other officers wounded. The total loss was 86 in killed, wounded and missing.

On November 25 the enemy attacked some of our works on the summit of a high hill on the south side of the river, in plain sight from our position and about 2,000 yards distant. While Captain W. D. Wiltsie, of Company H, was watching the progress of this fight through a field-glass, standing near regimental headquarters, he was picked off by a rebel sharpshooter from the woods on our left front. The bullet entered near the spine and produced paralysis of the lower part of the body and legs. He was carried to the Court House hospital, where he died on the night of the 27th meeting his fate with heroic fortitude. Captain Wiltsie was one of the most valuable officers of the regiment, and his death was a great loss to the command and to the service. Captain McCollum, who succeeded him in command, says in his diary: "The captain felt from the first that he had received a mortal wound. He regretted that it was not his privilege to die on the field instead of being cut down in such a murderous way. He exhibited remarkable coolness and self-possession. He entrusted me with his effects and instructed me in regard to the settlement of his accounts. He wished his son to have his sword, and with it fight for his country, were it ever assailed by traitors."

There was no more heroic or manly death in the history of the regiment than that of Captain Wendell D. Wiltsie.

On the same evening Lieutenant Colonel Lorin L. Comstock, commanding the Seventeenth Michigan, next on our right, was also shot by a long range sharpshooter, and fell mortally wounded. He died the same night. Thus, each of the three Michigan regiments lost its commanding officer; Smith of the Twentieth, on the 16th; Byington of the Second, on the 24th, and Comstock of the Seventeenth, on the 25th. It became evident from the movements of the enemy on the 26th and 27th, the posting of batteries on the south side, the activity of sharpshooters and other indications, that the crisis of the siege was now near at hand, and that an assault might be expected any day.

It was expected by us that the assault would be made at daybreak, and therefore each morning before dawn the whole command, on the line of our division, stood to arms in the trenches until it was fully daylight, so as to be ready for any movement of the enemy.

But everything remained about as usual until the evening of the 28th. A brief description of the location is here necessary.

The rounded hill upon which Fort Sanders stood had recently been covered with standing timber, mostly second-growth pine, with now and then a large oak tree interspersed. This timber had been chopped down, with the exception of a few trees, and the small trees used in making platforms and revetments for the fort, and the tops and branches of the large oaks utilized in constructing an abatis in front.

The fort itself had been designed by a skillful engineer as a star bastioned fort. The south and west fronts were well advanced toward completion; the southwest bastion was practically completed. The north half was only just begun, and amounted to no more than a breastwork. A ditch about ten feet wide and of varying depth, surrounded the completed part. The railroad ran past at the foot of the hill 200 to 300 yards distant, and beyond this was the piece of woods on the left front, before referred to, affording cover for massing a large body of troops.

In front of the fort in the direction of the woods were many small stumps standing, and a quantity of telegraph wire had been run from stump to stump in several concentric lines, so as to form a formidable obstruction to a force attacking in the dark or in the dim light of early morning. This was known as the "tangle" or "entanglement."

At about 10:30 on the night of November 28 (Saturday), a sudden attack was made upon our pickets all along the line in front of the fort, from the London road to the Clinton road, on the right of our brigade, and many of them made prisoners. Those not taken or wounded fell back to the fort and to the lines on either side. Before midnight a new picket line was established near the foot of the hill on the near side of the railroad. In restoring the line Lieutenants Wortley and Lounsberry rendered excellent service. A number of buildings in front of Christ's brigade were fired, producing quite a conflagration, which for a time lighted up the scene brilliantly. By midnight, matters had quieted down, but the men remained in the trenches, as we now felt certain the assault was at hand.

Occasionally the rebel batteries, recently planted on the south side of the river, would open their guns and fire a few shots, either as signals or to keep us stirred up. Before daylight Captain Roemer opened with two guns of his battery, shelling the woods on our right, and a shell bursting at the muzzle of one of the guns killed one of our men in Company H and mortally wounded one in Company K.

The night was cold and frosty and toward morning a dense white fog settled over all the valleys, reaching nearly up to the fort. Over all the low lands and in the hollows between the hills it lay like a vast sea of milk.

The day was just dawning and the light was still struggling with the fog when out of the mist on the left front of the fort toward the woods beyond the railroad, came the sound of rapid picket firing, almost smothered in the fog. The firing was accompanied and followed by a rather feeble rebel yell.

From our position on the right of the fort we had a clear view of the slope above

the fog on the west front of the salient, and watching intensely in the direction of the firing and yelling, we presently saw a column of rebel troops burst out of the mist, coming on at the double-quick, directly toward the completed bastion of the fort. On they came, in column of battalions, line on line, brigade on brigade, with arms at trail, heads down, with little or no yelling, but with a steady tramp, tramp, tramp, and a low "hep, hep, hep," they rushed forward in an apparently irresistible surge toward the west front of Fort Sanders. The moment they showed out of the fog the fort opened with canister and shrapnel, cutting gaps in the advancing column. But still they came on without hesitation or wavering, until the leading line struck the wire entanglement, which they had failed to notice in the dim light and the fog, and many of them went down in confusion and disorder. The impetus of the charge was broken, and it was well-nigh impossible to regain formation.

At the same moment, the musketry opened from the fort and from the breastworks on the right and left, and added its leaden hail to the deadly work of the artillery.

The ground around the salient was almost piled with the fallen, and yet the supporting lines pressed forward until the ditch was reached, into which they leaped. The storming column struck the fort at the point where the ditch was widest and deepest and the parapet highest and most difficult of access. The ditch was soon almost filled with the living and the dying mingled together.

While this first mass was still struggling in the attempt to reach and scale the parapet, a second column, of a brigade, in like formation, rushed up the slope further to the north and nearer to our position. From their position the left companies of the Twentieth Michigan, A and D, had an unobstructed flank fire into the left flank of the advancing column without themselves receiving any considerable fire in return, which opportunity they improved to the fullest extent. The moment the assault had developed, Co. C, of the Twentieth, by order of Colonel Humphrey, went on a double-quick into the fort, and were stationed in the assaulted salient, where they rendered most gallant service. Co. D at the left of the regiment extended within a few feet of the right embrasure of the fort. The gun at this embrasure could not rake the ditch. After the Confederates had reached the ditch and were trying to scale the fort, Captain Grant placed several of his men at this embrasure to repel those who were trying to reach the parapet.

In vain the assailants sought to climb the parapets; as fast as they showed their heads above the line of fire they were tumbled into the ditch. In vain their officers sought to persuade or drive them to renew the attempt; the task was hopeless, and at the end of forty-five minutes from the time the first shot was fired, the battle of Fort Sanders was over.

Never was assault more gallantly or persistently delivered, and never one more completely and decisively repulsed.

Three battle flags, 500 stands of arms and 225 unwounded prisoners were among the trophies; 129 killed and 458 wounded partially indicated the measure of the loss of the enemy.

The total loss of our division during the siege amounted to 261, of whom 27 were killed, 148 wounded, and 76 missing.

The loss of our regiment was thirty, of whom two were killed, sixteen wounded, and twelve captured in the attack on Fort Sanders.

From the opening of the campaign at Campbell's Station to the raising of the Siege of Knoxville, December 5th the regiment lost one officer (Colonel Smith) and four men killed, four officers and forty-one men wounded, and seventeen men missing. Total 67 out of about 275 actually engaged.

If called upon to name the operations in which the Twentieth Michigan played the most important part, and was able to render the greatest service, we would without hesitation select the battle of Campbell's Station and the defense of Fort Sanders.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DEFENSE OF FORT SANDERS.

October 29, 1863.

The defense of Fort Sanders was among the most heroic as well as most important events of the war.

It decided the campaign in East Tennessee. It permanently severed the connection between the rebel capital and the main Confederate Army in Virginia on the north and the great food-producing regions of the Confederacy on the south. It forever settled the status of East Tennessee as a loyal part of the Union. Though General Longstreet lingered around Morristown and Dandridge and in the valley of the French Broad River until the following March, it was only for the purpose of feeding his troops and was without important military or political results.

Before leaving the subject of the Siege of Knoxville it seems desirable to speak somewhat more fully of the repulse of the assault upon Fort Sanders, the forces engaged therein, the causes which chiefly contributed to our success and the part which the Twentieth Michigan took therein.

The story as given in the last chapter, from the standpoint of one on the inside of our works, on the right of the fort and near the center of our regiment, presents a very imperfect statement of the action. It really does scant justice to either the attack or the defense.

In 1890 was published Vol. XXXI of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, containing the official documents relating to the Knoxville campaign, Confederate as well as Federal. From these documents we are now able to know the Confederate side of the attack, as well as the official statements of the Union generals as to the defense.

And, first, it will be well to understand definitely *the forces that delivered the assault*, and where they were ordered to attack.

In General Longstreet's report, at page 461 of the above named volume, he states: "The assault was made at the appointed time by Generals Wofford's, Humphrey's and Bryan's brigades." Again, he says, at the bottom of page 460: "General Jenkins was ordered to advance a brigade, a little later than the assaulting columns, and to pass the enemy's lines east of the fort, and continue the attack along the enemy's rear and flank."

This would have brought Jenkin's brigade directly upon the front of the Twentieth and Seventeenth Michigan regiments, but as a matter of fact they struck the northwest bastion of the fort, just at the left of the Twentieth Michigan. Again, General Longstreet says (at top of page 461): "Two brigades of

Major General Buckner's division, under Brigadier General B. R. Johnson, having arrived the day before, were ordered to move in rear of General McLaws, and at a convenient distance, to be thrown in as circumstances might require."

We see, therefore, that the assault was actually made by three brigades of McLaw's division (Wofford's, Humphrey's and Bryan's), supported by two brigades of Buckner's division, under General B. R. Johnson, and further supported on the left by Anderson's brigade of Jenkin's (Hood's old) division. So that the assault was actually delivered by four brigades, supported by two more brigades,—all the very flower of the Confederate Army.

General Longstreet says on the page last quoted: "When within 500 yards of the fort, I saw some of the men straggling back, and heard that the men could not pass the ditch for the want of ladders or other means. Almost at the same moment I saw that the men were beginning to retire in considerable numbers, and very soon the column broke up entirely and fell back in confusion. I ordered Buckner's brigade halted and retired, and sent the order for Anderson's brigade of Hood's division to be halted and retired, but the troops of the latter brigade had become excited, and rushed up to the same point from which the others had been repulsed, and were soon driven back."

We did not realize at the time that this assault by Anderson's brigade was an entirely distinct attack, designed to strike not the fort, but the breastwork held by the Twentieth and Seventeenth Michigan.

Turning to the organization of Longstreet's army, as given on page 451 of the volume referred to, we find that Humphrey's brigade consisted of four Mississippi regiments, Wofford's brigade of four Georgia regiments, together with Cobb's and Phillip's legions; Bryan's brigade consisted of four Georgia regiments, while Anderson's brigade (of Hood's division), which assaulted next to our regiment, consisted of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Fifty-Ninth Georgia regiments, under the direct command of Brigadier General Anderson.

So it will be seen that the actual assault was made by four brigades of seventeen regiments and two legions, and it was supported by the fire of nearly thirty pieces of artillery.

Major General Lafayette McLaws' report of the assault, which assault was made by three brigades of his division, also throws a good deal of light upon this battle.

In the same volume, on page 490, after giving an account of the assault and its repulse, he adds: "When it was seen that Wofford's brigade could not mount the parapet, General G. I. Anderson's brigade of Hood's division came rushing to the assault in the same place where my command had attempted it, but was repulsed at once and retired." This makes it certain that there were two assaults by two columns from different divisions (McLaws' and Hood's), commanded by independent commanding officers, and that both were promptly repulsed.

General McLaws thereupon proceeds to discuss the CAUSES of his defeat, and this again is very interesting reading. On the same page, 490, he first states that there was no panic, that his sharpshooters were advanced to "within easy

range of the enemy's (our) breastworks, that they prevented the enemy using their cannon upon the assaulting columns," and that "*but few men were shot by musketry even, in front of my line, and many of those by the enemy holding their guns over their heads and firing without aim.*" What, then, was it that demoralized his column and compelled them to desist from the assault, and retreat? He says: "Most of the men were killed by a fire *from the left of my line, over which I had no control.*" As McLaws controlled the Confederate line from the fort to the river, he must mean that this fire came from the north and east of the fort, where Roemer's guns and the Twentieth Michigan were.

Again, on the next page (491), General McLaws says: "*The main cause of the failure, however, was the slipperiness of the parapet, upon which it was impossible for any large body of men to gain a foothold, and the severe fire from the north side of the fort, which drove the men from the most accessible point of ascent.*" Here, then, we have the declaration of the major general commanding the assault, that the "main cause" of the failure was the fire from north of the fort.

It is a fact well known to the writer that owing to the lay of the ground and the position and direction of the breastworks, no infantry fire from beyond the line of the Twentieth Michigan could possibly reach the assaulting column.

The left section of Roemer's battery occupied redoubts between the two left companies of the Twentieth and the center of the regiment. From the time of the attack, commenced at about 10:30 o'clock on the night of the 28th, until the assault was repulsed, Roemer's battery fired 169 rounds, and it ought not to be forgotten that his guns were in part served by thirteen detailed men from the Twentieth Michigan.

It is a fact which can be verified by the men of Companies "A" and "D," who were in the unfinished northwest bastion of the fort, that these companies fired away almost the last cartridge they had, and that, too, at point blank range.

Near the close of the firing, Captain Grant, commanding officer of Company D, sent word to Major Cutcheon that their cartridges were nearly exhausted, and asking for more ammunition. The cartridge boxes of the killed and wounded were gathered up and sent in to them.

It is not too much to claim, therefore, that what saved Fort Sanders, on the morning of November 29, 1863, was not the Seventy-ninth New York in the salient, nor Benjamin's twenty-pounder Parrotts, which could not sweep the "sector without fire," over which the main part of the assaulting columns rushed, nor yet the murderous hand grenades, which slaughtered the men already in the ditch, from which they could not get out, but rather that deadly, steady, unintermitting and unerring fire, from the left flank of the Twentieth Michigan, and the devastating discharges of canister and shrapnel from Roemer's left section, just north of the fort, served in part by the men of this regiment.

On the morning of December 1, 1863, Brigadier General R. B. Potter, commanding the corps, issued a congratulatory order, in which he named the Seventy-ninth New York, the Second Michigan Volunteers, and a detachment of the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts (of Christ's brigade), as those to whom, he says, "is due the credit of repulsing a picked column of the enemy," etc.

For a copy of this order see "Michigan in the War," page 198.

Immediately upon the issue of this order, the commanding officer of the Twentieth Michigan, Major B. M. Cutcheon, at once addressed a respectful letter of protest to General Potter, calling attention to the fact that three companies of this regiment were actually in the fort, and that the two companies on the left nearly or quite exhausted their ammunition, and that the Twentieth Regiment *lost more men* in the assault, killed, wounded and missing, than any other regiment of the Ninth Corps. We regret that we have not been able to find in the Official Record, or to otherwise obtain a copy of this letter to embody in this story.

In the diary of that gallant officer, Captain Walter McCollum, of Company H, under the date, December 1, 1863, is found this entry: "General Potter, commanding the corps, issued a circular congratulating the defenders of Fort Sanders on the 29th ult. He omitted to mention the part of our regiment which took part in the defense. Major Cutcheon applied for a mention of the Twentieth's service. The regiment in fact did nearly as much as any one command."

And now, forty years after McCollum made that entry in his diary, comes this official report of Major General McLaws, declaring that the "*main cause* of the failure" was the slippery parapet and "THE SEVERE FIRE FROM THE NORTH SIDE OF THE FORT."

And that fire came from the Twentieth Michigan. There are one or two other extracts from Confederate reports which ought to be placed on record here. Brigadier General M. Jenkins, commanding Hood's division, says on page 528: "I instructed him (General Anderson) to break over the enemy's breastwork at a point which I designated to him personally, about 100 yards to the left (our right) of the fort, and then to wheel to the left and sweep down the breastworks."

* * * * *

"Anderson's brigade instead of directing its attack, as I ordered, against the breastwork to the left of the fort, and then, in case of failure of McLaws' column, taking it in reverse, also moved too far to the right, and before the staff officer and courier dispatched the moment I perceived their misdirection, to order them to the point already designated could reach them, the distance being short from the starting point to the fort, became involved in the direct attack upon the side of the fort. After gallant efforts on the part of the officers and men to overcome the physical difficulties and storm the work, the brigade fell back to its previous position."

Had not Anderson's column lost its proper direction, and had it carried out its order as given, its attack would have fallen directly upon the front of the Twentieth and Seventeenth Michigan, where, from the moment it rose over the little ridge near the railroad, it would have received the concentrated fire of the Twentieth, Seventeenth and Second, and a flanking fire from two sections of Gitting's ten-pounder Parrott guns on our right, with the direct front fire of Roemer's two guns. It seems fairly doubtful if Anderson's brigade could have fared any better had it assaulted on our front where ordered, than it did further to our left.

Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson, commanding Buckner's division, at page 532 of the Official Records, says:

"On Sunday, November 29, having previously received orders from the lieutenant general commanding to that effect, my command moved at daylight at the signal for the attack from the rifle pits in front of Fort Loudon (all Confederates call Fort Sanders "Fort Loudon"), to support the assaulting column under Brigadier General Humphreys. Gracie's brigade advanced on the right or south of the East Tennessee & Virginia Railroad, and Fulton's command (Johnson's brigade) moved from a position on the north of this road, distant some 800 or 1,000 yards from the fort. In the advance the latter command crossed the railroad in front of the rifle pits, and approached to within 250 yards of the fort, on the *left or north* of the salient, on which the assault was made. It here came under the enemy's fire, *especially from the rifle pits on the north of the fort*. At this time Gracie's brigade, which was moving up in rear and on the right, was ordered by the lieutenant general commanding, who was on its front, to be withdrawn, and seeing it move to the rear, Johnson's brigade (Fulton's command) was halted, and the men covered themselves from the enemy's fire by lying flat on the ground."

Here, then, is still a *third brigade* which came under this fire from the north side of the fort and was compelled to halt and lie down. To recapitulate: They *first* poured a murderous fire into the left flank of McLaws' division, led by Wofford's and Humphrey's brigades, in the first and main assault.

Second. When Anderson's brigade of Hood's division came rushing to the attack, they met a like experience, and were quickly repulsed. And, *third*, when Johnson's brigade of Buckner's division crossed the railroad and attempted to push up toward the breastworks, they were obliged to lie down by this same withering fire from the north side of the fort.

All men of the Twentieth know and can testify that no musketry fire came from on our right, because the lay of the land did not permit it. In the light of these official reports of the Confederate commanders, we are constrained to the belief that no command in the entire army did more or so much for the defense of Fort Sanders, and consequently for the salvation of Knoxville and East Tennessee as did the Twentieth Michigan. If this presentation of the evidence on this point, almost forty years after the event, shall promote a juster estimate of the services of this regiment, it will sufficiently justify the wisdom of undertaking the work of preserving its history.

It will not be deemed out of place to call attention to the fact that among all those who acted prominent parts as regimental, brigade, division or corps commanders, in the defense of Knoxville, only the writer of this survives.

Burnside commanding the army, Hartsuff and Potter commanding the army corps; Hartranft and Ferrero commanding divisions, Morrison, Christ and Humphrey commanding brigades, Lawson, One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Byington, Second Michigan, Comstock, Seventeenth Michigan, have all crossed the river and pitched their tents "on fame's eternal camping ground."

On the 25th of November General Grant had fought and won the battle of Chattanooga on Mission Ridge, and had driven General Bragg with his army back into Georgia.

He then detached General Sherman with two army corps, who hastened by forced marches to the relief of General Burnside and his army at Knoxville.

As early as November 28 rumors of Bragg's defeat began to reach General Longstreet, but this only decided him to deliver the assault at once and endeavor to use up Burnside's army before relief could reach him.

On December 4 General Sherman's army reached Maryville, about twenty miles directly south of Knoxville, and he caused some of his heavy guns to be fired to notify General Burnside of his approach, and on the 6th General Sherman with his staff reached Knoxville.

But it appears that as early as December 2 General Longstreet had decided upon the abandonment of the siege, and on that night commenced the movement of his trains in the direction of Morristown, escorted by two brigades of cavalry. This movement continued throughout the night of the 3d and was completed during the 4th and the night of the 4th, so that on the morning of the 5th our skirmishers advanced and found their lines quite abandoned, except by a few stragglers and deserters, who were picked up and brought in.

On the 6th the command lay in camp awaiting orders. In the afternoon there was a regimental inspection, it being Sunday, and for the first time since we left Lenoir the men were able to stand erect back of the trenches, and to brush up their clothes and accoutrements without being made a target for rebel sharpshooters. That day at parade congratulatory orders were read from Generals Potter and Ferrero on the success of the defense, and the chaplain came over from the hospital and held a memorial service for those who had fallen, especially Lieutenant Colonel Smith and Captain Wiltzie, and a regimental order was read in tribute to their memories.

On Monday, December 7, the troops moved in pursuit of Longstreet's force, but only about 10,000, all told, were in condition to march. Since we came within the defenses of Knoxville the troops had been upon half rations or less, and for the last week quite without sugar or coffee and only a very short ration of a nondescript bread, composed of cornmeal, rye flour and "shorts," which the soldiers denominated "BURNSIDE SHORT CAKE."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WINTER IN EAST TENNESSEE—RETURN TO THE EAST.

December 5, 1863.

April 7, 1864.

During the night of December 6, 1863, orders came from corps headquarters for the command to be in readiness to march at daylight of the 7th. Accordingly, out of the scanty store remaining on hand, half rations for five days were issued to the men.

At 7 a. m. of the 7th the division was on the road headed toward Morristown, where General Longstreet was supposed to be. It is now known from General Longstreet's own official reports, that he reached Blain's Cross Roads on the 5th and Rutledge on the 6th, where he remained until the 8th. The night of the 7th we camped twelve miles from Knoxville, being in touch with the enemy's rear guard.

It should be said here that, even before the siege was raised, General Burnside had been ordered to turn over his command to Major General John G. Foster, who came from North Carolina, and had not previously served in the west. At the time we marched from Knoxville General Foster was already at Cumberland Gap, and as soon as Longstreet in his retreat uncovered the roads to Knoxville, he proceeded to report there on the 11th, and assumed command of the Department of the Ohio on the 12th, relieving General Burnside, who thereupon set out for the north to report in person to the president.

As early as September, almost immediately after the surrender of Cumberland Gap, General Burnside had notified the president that he might ask to be relieved on account of his health. The president at that time declined to entertain his request. But now, owing in part, no doubt, to the dissatisfaction of General Halleck, then general-in-chief, because Burnside did not make connections with Rosecrans before Longstreet's movement toward Knoxville, his request was granted and he was relieved from the command. But that President Lincoln was not seriously dissatisfied with General Burnside's East Tennessee campaign was made evident from the fact that almost immediately he entrusted him with the reorganization of the Ninth Corps, and gave him an important command with the Army of the Potomac.

When, therefore, the troops started out on December 7 to follow up the enemy, General Burnside remained at Knoxville, and General John G. Parke, who had been Burnside's chief of staff during the preceding campaign, took the field in command of his troops. General R. B. Potter remained in command of the corps and General Ferrero of the division.

The march continued on the 8th and 9th and at noon of the 10th we passed

through the village of Rutledge, situated in the road from Cumberland Gap to Dandridge, thirty miles from Knoxville and about fifty miles from the Gap. At this time a considerable body of our cavalry was at Bean's Station, eight miles beyond Rutledge and east of the Clinch Mountain, and Longstreet suddenly faced about with the intent of striking this cavalry before the infantry could come to its aid.

The engagement known as the "Battle of Bean's Station" ensued on the 14th, and at Rutledge we thought from the noise made, that a heavy engagement must be in progress. That day we marched from Rutledge to Thursday's Ford (or Ferry), about seven miles east on the Hiwassee, in order to prevent that flank from a threatened movement from the direction of Murfreesboro'. A brigade of rebel cavalry appeared upon the opposite bank and opened a battery upon us, and several men were wounded.

On this day the regiment received official notice of the discharge of Colonel A. W. Williams who had nominally remained a colonel of the regiment since the preceding March. At a meeting of the officers that evening it was unanimously decided to recommend to the Governor of Michigan the promotion of Major B. M. Cutcheon to be colonel of the regiment; all the company, and of Captains Geo. C. Barnes and C. B. Grant to be Lieutenant Colonel and major respectively, and on arrival at Blain's Cross Roads, the formal recommendation was signed.

At about 10 o'clock that night, pursuant to orders then received, the regiment fell back some miles toward Rutledge and Murfreesboro'.

On the morning of the 15th the brigade once more moved forward toward Thursday's Ford, coming in contact with the enemy's pickets and exchanging shots. The brigade was formed in line of battle and had just commenced to advance, when imperative orders were received to retire at once to Rutledge. We moved back to Rutledge and remained in line north of the village until the troops from Bean's Station had passed to the rear. Late that night we fell back on our half way to Blain's Cross Roads and Murfreesboro'.

December 10 we resumed the movement to Blain's Cross Roads, leaving that night, and that evening formed a line of battle of the entire army, our left the valley at that point, the Twentieth being on the extreme left, far up the side of the Clinch Mountain, close up to the perpendicular rock.

Sheridan's and Wood's Divisions of Granger's Fourth Corps arrived and took position on our left, on the other side of Clinch Mountain on the Tazewell's side.

The regiment remained at Blain's Cross Roads, with only slight change of location, for one month.

This was one of the most trying periods of our entire service. The men were on not more than half rations, their clothing was almost in rags, and a very large number were without shoes to keep their feet from the frozen ground. This was the "Valley Forge" of the Tennessee campaign.

On January 4, 1862, the regiment was inspected by Colonel Humphrey, Second Michigan. He reported that out of 300 inspected, he found 53 without underclothing, 107 without shoes, 73 without tents, 166 without socks, 123 without overcoats, and 17 with no blankets. This was largely due to the loss of knapsacks at Lenoir's Station, without fault of the men.

On January 8 the Eighth Michigan, having reenlisted, started over the mountains for Michigan, on their "veteran furlough" of sixty days. Some sixty men who did not reenlist were assigned to the Twentieth Michigan for the rest of their term.

On January 11 the One Hundredth and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania started on their furlough, and the brigades were reconstructed as follows:

The Twentieth Michigan was transferred into the place of the Eighth Michigan in the First Brigade, and our brigade was then as follows:

First Brigade—Colonel David Morrison, commanding.

Seventy-ninth New York—Captain Montgomery, commanding.

Twentieth Michigan—Major Cutcheon, commanding.

Thirty-sixth Massachusetts—Major Draper commanding.

Forty-fifth Pennsylvania—Lieutenant Colonel Hills, commanding.

This remained our brigade organization until we reached Annapolis, Maryland, on April 7, 1864.

On January 14th our clothing train arrived at Blain's Cross Roads from Cumberland Gap, and the men were all fitted out with clothing, and made much more comfortable, though rations continued to be scanty.

It was no uncommon thing for the men to forage on the mule trains at night, and bring in corn in the ear, which they shelled and roasted or parched. Forage trains were sent out into the distant valleys to bring in corn and grain, and rarely returned without a few chickens and sometimes even a turkey.

During this period the men preserved a wonderful cheerfulness and firm courage, and never were they more determined to stay by and see the thing out than during this hard winter in East Tennessee.

We saw little or nothing of our higher officers, and it is doubtful if a man in the regiment would have recognized General Foster, who succeeded General Burnside, if he had met him.

General Foster was suffering from an old, unhealed wound when he came to us, and about the beginning of February he requested to be relieved, and his request was granted. He departed on February 9 and was succeeded by Major General John M. Schofield.

On January 16, 1864, the division marched from Blain's Cross Roads across the country to Strawberry Plains, a distance of seven miles, in a southeast direction.

Here we camped in a fine piece of woods on high ground overlooking the Holston River. At this point the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad crosses the river, and the bridge, which had been burned by the rebels, had been rebuilt so that it could be used for troops.

On January 18 General R. B. Potter, commanding the corps, left for the north on thirty days' leave of absence, and did not again rejoin until the corps reached Annapolis, Maryland. General O. B. Willcox again took command of the corps.

On January 21 the enemy came down in force from the direction of Morristown and attacked and drove in our pickets on the east side of the river, planted a bat-

tery on College Hill, and shelled our position pretty lively. Our regiment was deployed along the river, and a part sent to picket the road in the direction of Blain's Cross Roads. We had no losses in the regiment from this skirmish.

Before daylight of the 22d we commenced withdrawing from Strawberry Plains, in the direction of Knoxville. We reached Flat Creek at daylight and halted for breakfast. Here the advance of the rebel cavalry came upon us and we formed in line of battle, but they did not press this attack, though they continued to follow up all day for the purpose of picking up stragglers.

Just before night we formed in line of battle near Armstrong's, three miles from Knoxville, and quite a skirmish followed, and the enemy was driven back, the Twenty-seventh Michigan taking an active and creditable part.

We lay upon our arms that night, and continued in position during the 23d, and on the 24th marched through Knoxville and out past Fort Sanders on the Loudon road, to Erin Station, about five miles from Knoxville.

Here we made a camp in a beautiful grove of timber on the bank of the Holston River. The location was on a high and pleasant ridge, with a splendid outlook in all directions. Here we remained until February 15, with the exception of one day when we marched to Knoxville, on February 1, and out beyond the hills on the south side, to meet and repel some threatened cavalry raid. But the enemy did not appear. At Erin we had abundant rations, a plentiful issue of clothing, and the weather was mostly pleasant and healthful. Drills and parades were resumed, Colonel Morrison having brigade drills three times a week. Mails came regularly by way of Chattanooga, and the men began to feel that we were in touch with the world once more.

On February 11 the Second Michigan started for Michigan on their veteran furlough, and the other Michigan regiments turned out and formed along the road to pay them parting honors. The Second had come to be very highly esteemed by us as a splendid body of men, always ready for any arduous duty. They had been blessed with such commanding officers as Richardson, Poe and Humphrey, who had brought them up to the highest standard of efficiency, as brave and well disciplined soldiers. As we had been associated with them almost from the day we entered the service, our regiment had become greatly attached to them, and parted with them with deep regret.

On February 16th the corps broke up camp at Erin and marched to Knoxville, and bivouacked just beyond. An attack by the enemy was feared, but the alarm seems to have been unfounded. February 18th the First Division moved around to the Clinton road and camped about two miles west from Fort Sanders.

The regiment remained at this camp with the exception of a reconnaissance to Washington Cross Roads, about half way to Blain's Cross Roads, until February 24, when it marched with the whole army to Strawberry Plains.

It has been mentioned before that on February 9 General John M. Schofield assumed command of the Army of the Ohio, relieving Major General J. G. Foster.

General Schofield was wholly new to the department and to the troops, and we had little occasion or opportunity for seeing him in the short time we remained in East Tennessee.

These days in February were days of doubt and uncertainty. All kinds of rumors were constantly flying about, and all sorts of reports were brought in by frightened citizens.

One day it would be reported that Longstreet had broken up camp and was moving to Virginia, and the next day that he had crossed the French Broad and was moving southward to rejoin General Bragg in Northern Georgia. Again, it would be reported that he had been reinforced by Ewell's corps and was moving to renew the siege of Knoxville. From present knowledge we may well believe that General Longstreet was content to be let alone, as his troops were quite as badly off for food and clothing as our own.

The great body of his infantry remained in winter quarters about Russellville and Morristown, while his cavalry scoured the country in all directions for food and forage, and especially the rich valley of the French Broad.

On February 27 we moved forward, crossed the Holston at Strawberry Plains, and on the night of the 28th camped at Mossy Creek, and on the next day we marched in a heavy downpour of rain to and through Morristown and camped a little east of the town. So ended the month of February and our last "forward movement" in the valley of East Tennessee.

On March 2d we scuttled back to Mossy Creek and, a part of the army, as far as Strawberry Plains. We remained at and near Mossy Creek until the 12th, when we once more returned to Morristown, and camped about two miles from town in the direction of "Chucky Bend."

On the morning of the 14th a skirmish took place at Glendale, four miles toward "Chucky Bend," and at about 11 o'clock our brigade started out toward the Bend, to investigate the presence of a cavalry force of the enemy there. Major General Schofield and General Ferrero accompanied the troops. The Seventy-ninth New York was left at Glendale, and the Twentieth Michigan and the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts went on to the mouth of the Nolchucky or Chucky Bend. The Thirty-sixth Massachusetts halted at the mouth of the "Chucky," while the Twentieth continued on for a mile or two to the ford of a creek on the other side of which was a rebel cavalry camp. We had every reason to expect a warm reception. We threw off knapsacks, forded the creek, formed line of battle and charged the rebel cavalry camp up and over a steep hill. The rebels did not wait for us, but hustled out in a great hurry, leaving horses, saddles, some arms, and their dinner cooking. A few shots were fired, but we suffered no loss.

It was very handsomely done, and had not the enemy run before we could get at him, there would have been a pretty fight. The regiment returned to camp. This was our last skirmish in Tennessee.

On this same day, March 14, though then unknown to us, the order came for the Ninth Corps to report to Annapolis, Maryland, without delay.

On the 16th we were relieved by troops of the Fourth Corps, under General Gordon Granger, and on the 17th we started on our return to Knoxville, and camped that night at Newmarket, half way between Mossy Creek and Strawberry Plains, and on the 19th reached Knoxville at noon, and camped on the plain on the Clinton road just west of Fort Sanders.

* On the morning of March 21 the entire corps set out for camp Nelson, Ken-

tucky, reaching Clinton the same night, Jacksboro on the 22d, near Chitswood on the 24th, and next day, March 25th, entered Kentucky once more, and on the 27th reached Burnside's Point at noon, and camped that night beyond Somerset. Passing through Waynesburg, Stamford, Lancaster, Camp Dick Robinson and Camp Nelson, the regiment reached the old camping place, "Camp Parke," on the evening of March 31, having marched 218 miles from Morristown since the morning of the 17th, and 176 miles from Knoxville since the 21st, with only one day's rest. A careful estimate made at this time, showed that the regiment had now traveled since leaving Jackson, 5,626 miles.

On the afternoon of April 1 the regiment took cars at Nicholasville, reaching Cincinnati on the 3d, being detained by railroad accidents, and at 11 p. m. of the 4th reached Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, just a year and a half since we passed through there on our way to the front, September 2, 1862. On the evening of April 6 reached Baltimore, Maryland, and, proceeding by steamer, disembarked at Annapolis on the morning of the 7th, a year and sixteen days after we set out from Baltimore for Kentucky.

CHAPTER XV.

ANNAPOLIS TO THE WILDERNESS.

April 22, 1864.

April 30, 1864.

During the movement from Knoxville, Tennessee to Annapolis, Maryland, the regiment was under the command of Captain George C. Barnes of Company "C," the senior officer present with the regiment.

In accordance with the recommendation of all the officers of the regiment, made at Blain's Cross Roads, Governor Blair had commissioned Major Cutcheon to be colonel of the regiment, with rank from November 21, 1863; Captain Geo. C. Barnes to be lieutenant colonel, vice Smith killed in action, with rank from the same date, and Captain C. B. Grant to be Major, vice Major Cutcheon, promoted.

These officers' commissions were received in February, 1864, while the regiment was at Erin Station, and application was immediately made for muster.

But it was decided by the mustering officer at Knoxville that the regiment, being reduced below the minimum organization, was not entitled to muster a colonel. Appeal was taken to the commissary of musters for the Department of the Ohio, and he sustained the mustering officer at Knoxville. By this time, the regiment had left East Tennessee, and neither Captain Barnes nor Captain Grant was able to muster on their commissions, because no vacancy had been created into which they could be mustered. As the only thing which could be done, the governor issued new commissions to Major Cutcheon as lieutenant colonel, to rank from November 16, 1863 (the date of the death of Lieutenant Colonel Smith), and to Captain Barnes as major from the same date. These commissions were issued on the 26th day of March, 1864, but the officers were not able to be mustered into the service of the United States until the regiment arrived at Warrenton junction, on May 2, 1864.

It therefore came about that while Captain Barnes had his commission as lieutenant colonel from the time the regiment was at Erin Station, his rank in the United States service was only that of captain, until the opening of the Wilderness campaign. On March 21, 1864, the day the regiment left Knoxville, Major Cutcheon received orders from General Willcox, commanding the division, to proceed to Michigan on recruiting service, and to report to the command with his recruiting parties within thirty days after arrival in Michigan.

The following named officers and men had been for some time on recruiting service in Michigan, namely:

First Lieutenant Alfred A. Van Cleve, Company B.
First Lieutenant David E. Ainsworth, Company D.
Sergeant Adrian C. White, Company C.
Sergeant Reuben E. Manning, Company B.
Sergeant Charles W. Maynard, Company D.
Sergeant Edwin M. Adams, Company F.
Sergeant David C. Holmes, Company H.
Sergeant Daniel Irons, Company G.

Pursuant to his orders, Major Cutcheon proceeded to Michigan, arriving on March 26, and reported to Colonel B. H. Hill, superintendent of recruiting, on March 27, and remained on that duty until April 20, when he set out with his recruiting party to rejoin the regiment, and reported to General Willcox at Annapolis, Maryland, on the evening of April 22, and the same evening resumed the command of the regiment, just thirty days after leaving Knoxville.

It should be stated here that on January 8, 1864, when the Eighth Michigan Volunteers reenlisted at Blain's Cross Roads, 145 enlisted men of that regiment, who did not "veteranize," were assigned and transferred to the Twentieth Michigan for the remainder of their term of service, and their descriptive rolls turned over to the commanding officer of this regiment. If these men were to be regarded as a part of this regiment it increased its strength above the minimum, and entitled it to a full corps of officers. Upon application to the War Department, May, 1864, it was held that these men could not be considered a part of the strength of the regiment, and that they did not raise it to the minimum.

Under and by virtue of a joint resolution of the congress of the United States, passed July 26, 1866, Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon was mustered out as Lieutenant Colonel, and mustered on April 3, 1867, as colonel of the Twentieth Michigan, as of date, February 14, 1864, the day on which he received and accepted his commission as colonel at Erin Station, Tennessee. Subsequently, under an amendment of the law, the 145 men of the Eighth Michigan were recognized as a part of this regiment, and Colonel Cutcheon's muster as colonel of the Twentieth Michigan, was further amended to date from January 8, 1864, the date of their transfer.

At Annapolis the corps was entirely reorganized and many new regiments added thereto. The corps had been recruited up to about 24,000 men. General A. E. Burnside was once more restored to the command. The three white divisions were commanded as follows:

First Division—Brigadier General Thomas G. Stevenson.

Second Division—Brigadier General R. B. Potter.

Third Division—Brigadier General O. B. Willcox.

The third division consisted of two brigades.

FIRST BRIGADE.

Colonel John F. Hartranft, Commanding.

Second Michigan—Colonel Humphrey.

Eighth Michigan—Colonel Graves.

Seventeenth Michigan—Colonel Luce.

Twenty-seventh Michigan—Major Moody.

One Hundredth and Ninth New York—Colonel B. F. Tracey.

Fifty-first Pennsylvania—Lieutenant Colonel Schall.

SECOND BRIGADE (OURS).

Colonel B. C. Christ, Commanding.

First Michigan Sharpshooters—Colonel C. V. DeLand.

Twentieth Michigan—Colonel B. M. Cutcheon.

Seventy-ninth New York—Colonel David Morrison.

Sixtieth Ohio—Colonel J. L. McElroy.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania—Lieutenant Colonel Overton.

The First Michigan Sharpshooters and the Sixtieth Ohio were new regiments, just out from their states, and had never been in battle. As will be seen, our old friends with whom we had formerly been brigaded were mostly in Hartranft's brigade. The One Hundredth and Ninth New York was a large, new regiment just recently out.* The Fourth Division (of colored troops) were not at first attached to the Ninth Corps. They were a separate division, commanded by our old division commander, General Edward Ferrero.

At the opening of the campaign, the Ninth Corps was not attached to the Army of the Potomac, but was an independent corps, and reported directly to Lieutenant General Grant until May 24.

Such was our new organization when, on the morning of April 23, we set out from Annapolis, Maryland, to join General Grant on the Rapidan, in Virginia. Grant's headquarters were at Culpepper Court House, and we were to march to that point with all our artillery and trains, for two reasons. *First*, it would be a good "breaking in" of the new regiments who had not seen service; and, *second*, as the railroad was occupied to its full capacity in getting forward supplies for the campaign, it was really the only available way of getting so large a body of troops to the front.

Many of the generals were new to their troops, and many of the regiments in the same divisions and brigades were unacquainted with each other; and this preliminary campaign would enable them to get into touch and find out "who was who," a thing so necessary to hearty co-operation in military operations. Nearly every old regiment in our division had been home on "veteran's furlough," except the Seventy-ninth New York, and the three years of that regiment would expire upon the 12th of May.

* It was commanded by Col. Benj. F. Tracey, afterwards Secretary of the Navy, in the Harrison administration.

There was so much raw material in the corps that it was not an easy thing to get it in motion.

Though the reveille sounded at 4 o'clock in the morning, it was after 11 when we got straightened out and fairly started. We made a good afternoon's march in the direction of Washington, and after dark turned off the road and bivouacked. The men, especially of the new regiments, were loaded with enormous knapsacks; the day was warm, and the amount of straggling was immense.

But the Twentieth had practically no new men; they were recently from their campaign in Tennessee and their long march over the mountains, and they never marched more easily or more beautifully. When the regiments turned off the road that night after the twelve mile walk, the commanding officer ordered the drum corps to tap the time, and instantly the files closed up with every man in his place, the arms at right shoulder, as if coming in from dress parade. General Willcox with his staff sat in their saddles as the regiment marched to its place, and complimented them most enthusiastically. It was a thing to be proud of.

On the 24th reveille sounded at daylight, and we marched fourteen miles and went into camp on the farm of the Maryland Agricultural College. Again, the regiment was a model in marching, and came into camp with scarcely a straggler, after a good day's march. During the night there came up a very heavy thunder-storm, and the rain came down in torrents. The lower grounds became a pool of water, and it was not easy to find a dry spot.

On the 25th we marched after daylight, and during the morning passed through the ancient village of Bladensburg, a few miles from Washington.

In the first half of the century there was here a noted dueling ground, and a good many famous men had here faced an antagonist's pistol.

Here, also, was a skirmish between the British and Americans in August, 1814, in the war of 1812, when the British were advancing on Washington. Here was a small creek which the rains of the night before had swollen out of its banks and carried away the bridge, and the men were obliged to wade. Here we found the outer line of defenses of Washington, which never came into use, but which were a prudent precaution. Before noon we came in sight of the capitol and halted on the Bladensburg pike, in the suburbs of the city, near a large cavalry and artillery camp. Here we stacked arms and were told that we were to march in review before the president in passing through Washington, and that we were desired to make ourselves as presentable as possible. Knapsacks were unslung and unstrapped, brushes and blacking found, and in a few moments the entire division and corps were occupied in cleaning off the mud and tidying up generally. By this time the sun was shining brightly, and in the course of an hour a transformation had been wrought. It could hardly have been suspected that we had marched ten miles through the mud and waded through a creek that morning. Arms were bright, the brasses shining and the clothing in good order as we resumed our march down New York Avenue, toward the White House. The Twentieth Michigan was a small regiment—not more than 325 guns—but all were veterans and thoroughly drilled.

As we marched down New York Avenue to Fourteenth Street, there was no

finer appearing regiment in the corps. They moved as one man, with the ease and swing of veterans, which attracted universal attention and admiration. On reaching Fourteenth Street, the column turned to the left down that street, toward Pennsylvania Avenue.

On the narrow balcony on the east front of Willard's Hotel, stood the President, Abraham Lincoln, the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, General A. E. Burnside, and, while our division was passing, General O. B. Willcox, all with uncovered heads. There was no cheering, but the troops marched past with arms at the "carry," and as they passed gave the "marching salute," while the officers presented swords.

Never were seen more dissimilar types of men. Lincoln was tall, angular, bowed, careworn, benignant; Stanton, short, broad, deep-chested, stern and positively aggressive; Burnside, erect, soldierly, strikingly handsome. The column marched by companies, and the Twentieth never marched more beautifully. General Willcox complimented their appearance to Colonel Cutcheon in the most flattering terms. We continued the march to Long Bridge, once more crossed into Virginia over the very ground where we last crossed on September 4, 1862, then followed the road toward Alexandria for a mile or so, and turned up the valley beyond Arlington Heights toward Convalescent Camp, afterward Freedman Village, within half a mile of our first bivouac in Virginia.

Here we camped until the morning of the 27th and during this time our division was paid. Here we were joined by the Fourth Division, commanded by General Ferrero. This division was composed of seven large regiments of colored troops, divided into two brigades. They had mostly been slaves and had been enlisted largely in Virginia and North and South Carolina. They were well clothed and armed, and seemed to take pride in making a good appearance. Throughout the campaign they were employed chiefly in guarding the wagon trains and droves of cattle. The one exception was the battle of the Crater, July 30, of which more will be said hereafter.

Our (Third) division marched on the 27th at an early hour, but, as in leaving Annapolis, so here, the corps was a long time getting straightened out on the road, and it was late in the morning when we were fairly started. Our destination was General Grant's army near Culpepper Court House, and our route lay along the line of the Orange & Alexandria Railroad. We marched across the country nearly due south until we struck the Alexandria and Warrenton turnpike, near the village of Annadale, and then turned up that pike toward Fairfax Court House. It was about 11 o'clock that night when we reached the latter village, and in the darkness turned off the road and bivouacked at will, wherever we could find a spot.

On April 28, after a late reveille, we took the road to Manassas Junction *via* Centreville. At about noon we reached Centreville Heights, where the rebel army under General Beauregard spent the winter of 1861-1862.

Only a few old dilapidated, weather-beaten wrecks of houses remained, but the old Confederate fortifications were found but little demolished. It had been a very strong position and skilfully fortified. From this height is one of the most commanding views to be found in Northern Virginia. Before one, to the west-

ward, lies the old Bull Run battlefield of July 21, 1861, and the wider field of the actions of August 29 and 30, 1862, between Bull Run and Groveton. You can trace the course of Bull Run for a long distance. Away beyond these fields rise the Bull Run Mountains, and still farther away, in the dim distance, the Blue Ridge Mountains bound the vision to the westward.

Down at the foot of the hills to the southward is Blackburn's Ford, where the first great battle of the war was inaugurated, on July 18, 1861. Farther away, and more to the westward, on a broad plateau of land was Manassas Junction, around which had raged many a fight in previous years, and especially in the Pope campaign of 1862. On the hills a mile and a half or two miles beyond the Stone bridge on the Warrenton pike was the hamlet of Groveton where the battle chiefly raged on August 30, 1862. In every direction within the circle of the vision were scenes of conflict in the early years of the war.

After an hour's halt for rest and refreshment, we again took up the march, turned to the left down the ridge, forded the historic Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, and deflecting to the westward, passed through a broad belt of woods and out into the open country around the fortifications of Manassas. Then, following the line of the railroad, we reached Bristoe Station and camped for the night. We found the railroad strongly guarded at every bridge, as the army was dependent upon this single track road for all supplies.

April 29 we marched to Catlett's Station where we halted for dinner, and where the Sixtieth Ohio was left as a temporary garrison. The rest of the division marched to Warrenton Junction, for the first time being, the terminus of our march.

On April 30 our division relieved all the other troops who were on duty at Warrenton Junction, and most of our regiment was detailed for picket duty. Very strong pickets were maintained to prevent any attempted cavalry dash upon the railroad.

Here the corps remained in quiet, principally engaged in picket duty, until the morning of May 4. We had been ordered by General Burnside to accumulate sixteen days' rations and a large supply of ammunition, and to hold ourselves in readiness to move at any hour when orders should be received. All indications pointed to the fact that the time for the opening of the great campaign was close at hand.

CHAPTER XVI.

THROUGH THE WILDERNESS.

April 30, 1864.

May 8, 1864.

On the 30th day of April, 1864, the Official Records show that the Ninth Corps had "present for duty in the three white divisions, 842 officers and 18,408 enlisted men, and 42 pieces of field artillery." (Vol. XXXVI, Part 1, page 915).

The Third Division (Willcox's) returned 262 officers, 6,110 enlisted men; present and absent, 8,799, and 12 pieces of field artillery.

General Grant, having been made lieutenant general, and given command of all the armies, had left Washington to make his headquarters with the troops in the field, and had assumed personal command of the army operating against General Lee, consisting of the Army of the Potomac, including the Second, Fifth and Sixth Corps, under General Meade, the Cavalry Corps under General Sheridan, and the Ninth Corps under General A. E. Burnside.

The Ninth Corps was not at first consolidated with the Army of the Potomac. The reason for this separation of the Ninth Corps from General Meade's army, was that General Burnside was senior to General Meade, by a wide margin, and General Grant did not desire to supersede General Meade. But on May 24, 1864, the Ninth Corps was formally consolidated with the Army of the Potomac, under the command of General Meade. General Burnside, then, as always, thoroughly patriotic, waived the matter of rank and continued in command of the corps.

On the morning of May 4, 1864, we set out from Warrenton Junction to join General Grant beyond the Rapidan. We knew full well when we broke camp that May morning and crossed the river in our front, that many of us would never recross it. But the fortunes of war are a lottery and each one hopes he may be among the fortunate ones. Yet the soldier must be prepared for either event. It is most fortunate that a veil is drawn between us and the future, and that we are not permitted to know what awaits us. Could we have foreseen Spottsylvania, Bethesda and Petersburg, there would have been many heavy hearts that morning.

The apple orchards around Warrenton were bright and sweet with bloom as we struck our tents and marched away toward the "Old Wilderness" for the death-grapple with the forces of the Confederacy. We all knew that battle and danger for all, and death for many, were before us, yet this regiment marched away as light-hearted and as full of courage as they had ever been. The army was mostly composed of young men under twenty-five years of age, and it is most fortunate that youth always sees the hopeful aspect of the future.

That evening we crossed the Rappahannock at the railroad station of the same

name, and the head of the column continued on as far as Brandy Station, where our division received orders which caused us to countermarch to a point about a mile in advance of Rappahannock Bridge, where we bivouacked for the night.

Before daylight of May 5 the reveille sounded, and as soon as it was light enough to see the road we were on our way to Germanna Ford of the Rapidan. The day was favorable and the roads were dry, the marching good and we pushed on rapidly, so that by 11 o'clock we had reached the hills overlooking Germanna Ford. Here we halted for dinner, and soon after noon we crossed the Rapidan on the pontoon bridges, and, passing through the old Confederate bridge-head fortifications, we advanced about southeast along the Germanna plank road, toward Wilderness Tavern. This region was well named "the Wilderness."

The country, which is rough in aspect, is generally covered with old forest with only narrow and obscure by-roads penetrating it, while clearings are few and far between. It was then in the fullest sense a *wilderness*. We kept on down the "plank road"—most of the plank worn out and gone—and about two and one-half or three miles from the bridge, we turned off to the right, following a private road, the main part of which ran southwest to "Widow Willis' place," and the lesser branch turned west to the "Rollin's place." When the right of the division had nearly reached the latter place, it halted, with Hartranft's First Brigade on the right, and Christ's Brigade in the deep woods on the left. At this place the Rapidan makes a deep "ox-bow" to the eastward; on the inward curve of this ox-bow the right of the division rested.

Two regiments were thrown out as skirmishers to the front and right to watch that flank, while the remainder of the division was permitted to stack arms and rest in line. Thus our division occupied the extreme right of General Grant's line, filling a gap between the Sixth Corps under Sedgwick, and the river. The Sixth Corps was deployed along a ridge mostly west of the Germanna plank road, and facing westward, the line being nearly at right angles with the Orange turnpike. On the left of the Sixth Corps was the Fifth Corps, extending the line to and beyond the Orange turnpike, which extends nearly east and west from Orange Court House to Fredericksburg. Here it seems needful to give some detailed description of the location of the battle of the Wilderness.

From Orange Court House, which had been General Lee's headquarters during the previous winter, two main roads extend nearly due east to Fredericksburg, in a generally parallel course, and at distance of from one to three miles apart. The more northerly of these is the *Orange turnpike*, which runs in a nearly straight line from Orange Court House to Wilderness Tavern. The more southerly one is the *Orange plank-road*. Germanna plank-road crosses the *turnpike* about forty rods west of Wilderness Tavern, and then continues on nearly due southeast and terminates in the *Orange plank-road*, about two miles from the crossing. Two miles west of Wilderness Tavern on the *turnpike* is Robinson's store, also known as "*Locust Grove*." Two miles and a half almost due south from Locust Grove is *Parker's Store*, on the *Orange plank-road*. From Parker's Store eastward the plank road turns sharply to the *northeast*, converging rapidly toward the turnpike, which it enters east of the junction of the Germanna road. In this

tract on the two sides of the turnpike, between Locust Grove and Wilderness Tavern, and on both sides of the plank-road, between Parker's Store and the Germanna road and in the Wilderness between the turnpike and the plank-road, the battle of the Wilderness was fought. It should be further said that a little more than a mile southeast of Wilderness Tavern, the *Brock road* branches from the Germanna road, running almost due south until it crosses the Orange plank-road, then southeasterly to Todd's Tavern, and then southeast-by-east to Spottsylvania Court House.

General Lee's army had spent the winter on the Upper Rapidan, with headquarters at Orange Court House, and on May 3d was disposed as follows: Ewell's Corps, 17,000* men, along the south side of the Rapidan from Mine Run up to the crossing of the railroad north of Orange Court House; Hill's Corps of about 22,000 men, on the left of Ewell, guarding the upper fords of the Rapidan; Longstreet's Corps, about 12,000 men, recently arrived from East Tennessee, at and near Gordonsville, eight to ten miles south of Orange Court House.

Now, let it be understood that General Grant was hastening south through the Wilderness to reach Spottsylvania in advance of Lee, and that Lee as soon as he discovered that Grant had left his position about Culpepper Court House, foreseeing that he would strike for Spottsylvania to get the short line to Richmond, marched at once with Ewell's Corps, which was nearest at hand, on the *turnpike*, and Hill's corps along the *plank road*, to intercept General Grant in the Wilderness, and delay his march until he (Lee) could occupy Spottsylvania. The two armies were marching at *right angles* with each other, and the immediate question at issue was the right of way to Spottsylvania.

A conflict was therefore inevitable, either in the Wilderness or at Spottsylvania, or both, if the first conflict did not prove to be decisive.

General Longstreet marched from Gordonsville by roads further south than the plank road, and by hard marching, arrived at a position on the latter road west of *Parker's Store* during the night of May 5. The Fifth and Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan at Germanna Ford on May 4, and marched to Old Wilderness Tavern, about five miles, without opposition, and deployed across the *turnpike* west of the Wilderness Run which crosses that road forty rods west from the Tavern, and pushed his advance west as far as Robinson's Store or "Locust Grove."

General Warren, commanding the Fifth Corps, also pushed another column along the road running southwest from Wilderness Tavern to *Parker's Store*, on the Orange plank-road, (the same on which we marched out the next morning). General Grant perceiving indications that Lee was advancing in force on the *turnpike* to strike him in the flank, withdrew Warren from the plank-road at *Parker's Store*, and on the 5th of May concentrated the Fifth and Sixth Corps on the turnpike, to meet the advance of Ewell's Corps upon that road.

The Second Corps, under General Hancock, preceded by Sheridan's Cavalry Corps, had crossed the Rapidan at Ely's Ford, on the 4th and had moved to Chancellorsville without opposition. On the 5th they were ordered to Todd's Tavern,

*These figures include only men present for duty in the ranks,—fighting men,—and did not embrace absentees, or men detailed for duty outside the fighting line. That was the usual way in which the Confederates reported their strength.

on the Brock road, and, marching up that road, deployed along it with right resting near the junction with the Germanna road, and the left about an equal distance south of the plank-road. Hancock faced west up the plank-road toward *Parker's Store*, as Warren faced west up the turnpike. Here Hancock was reinforced by Wadsworth's Division of the Fifth Corps and Getty's Division of the Sixth Corps and Baxter's Brigade of Robinson's Division of Warren's Corps. Getty's Division was hurried to the intersection of the Brock road with the Orange plank road, to hold in check the advance of Hill's (Confederate) Corps, which was pushing forward on that road in hope to seize the junction and secure the direct road to Spottsylvania.

Toward evening of the 5th a fierce and obstinate encounter took place along the line of the turnpike, between the Germanna road and *Locust Grove*, in which the Fifth Corps was temporarily successful, but later was outflanked and forced back nearly to the Germanna plank road. Just at dusk of the 5th, Wadsworth's division and Baxter's brigade of the Fifth Corps fell upon the left flank of Hill's column on the plank road and a furious conflict ensued; the musketry being extremely heavy. This was the fighting, the thunder of which came to us while we lay in line on the right, beyond the Widow Willis' place. So the double battle of the first day ended, with no decisive advantage to either side, with Warren and Sedgwick confronting Ewell on the turnpike and Hancock, reinforced by Getty and Wadsworth, facing Hill on the plank road, and Longstreet rushing to the fray on that flank. The night closed with all under orders to attack at daylight of the 6th. Both armies rested upon their arms.

Between the line of Hancock, along the Brock road, and the line of the Fifth and Sixth Corps, along the turnpike west of Wilderness Run, there was a gap of not less than a mile and a half.

The Brock road, on which Hancock was deployed, is more than a mile further east than the position of Warren's line, west of the Lacey house. On the 5th there were practically two armies fighting two battles on each side. The two wings were "*en echelon*," the right being more than a mile in advance.

This description has been necessary in order to understand the part taken by Potter's and Willcox's divisions of the Ninth Corps on the 6th of May.

At about 2 o'clock a. m., while the stars were still bright, our division was roused, blankets were rolled, coffee was made, breakfast eaten, the column formed, and at the earliest dawn the head of the division turned south on the old Germanna plank road toward the battlefield. The distance to the crossing of the *turnpike* was somewhat more than three miles.

Our First Division, Stevenson's, had already gone to report to General Hancock on the Brock road.

Potter's division had come up during the night, and preceded Willcox in the column.

It was barely light enough to see to march when the two divisions straightened themselves out on the road, and the men pressed forward with long, swinging steps. The stars faded into the saffron hues of the early daylight. The morning was warm and beautiful. The woods were musical with the song of birds, and all nature seemed wrapped in profound peace.

Not the sound of a shot was heard at that early hour, far or near, to disturb the morning's quiet. Just before reaching the turnpike we passed the Old Greenwood mine and the site of a tannery.

The entire neighborhood had been converted into a hospital for the wounded of the night before. Hundreds of them lay under the open sky, while all the hospital tents were full. Our column kept straight on past the crossing of the *turnpike and Germanna road*, and entered a wide meadow, which occupied the southwestern angle between the two roads, and lay nearly in front of the Wilderness Tavern. Through the midst of this meadow flowed Wilderness Run, in a northeasterly direction, crossing both roads about 250 yards west of the old tavern. This meadow was green with untrodden grass, and the woods which encircled it at a distance of from a third to a half a mile, were lovely in their spring greenery. There was over all the hush which precedes the storm. No one could have suspected that within a radius of two miles, concealed behind those walls of green, nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men were waiting the signal to spring upon each other and make that one of the world's famous battlefields. The two divisions, Potter's and Willcox's, formed in the meadow in column of divisions closed in mass, one on the left, and the other on the right of the run. The sun had not yet risen over the tops of the eastern forest, when far away beyond the woods, in the southeast, where was the crossing of the Brock and Orange plank roads, came the first crash of musketry, and the great battle of the Wilderness was on. The roll of the musketry came nearer and increased in volume as the lines closed.

Our old antagonist, Longstreet, of Knoxville memory, had marched rapidly since midnight, had arrived at Parker's Store at dawn, and just as the sun was rising, he hurled his corps against Hancock's extreme left, attacking from the bankment of the unfinished Orange & Fredericksburg Railroad.

At about the same moment came the sounds of battle from the front of Warren's corps, on the right, and soon the crash of musketry and roar of artillery extended along the whole front of four miles or more.

At about the same time *our* two divisions moved. There was no sound of drum nor shrill of fife nor blare of brazen music as we moved away. Potter's division advanced nearly due south on the east side of the run, along the road which comes out on the plank road at "Widow Tapp's place," and Willcox, turning to the right, past the "Lacey House," took the road running southwest past the "Chewning's place" to Parker's Store, nearly parallel with the west branch of Wilderness Run. This road was narrow, unfit for cavalry or artillery, and progress was slow, and we halted while the engineers widened the road so as to be practicable for artillery, and troops could move in heavier column. Our division continued to advance along this *Parker's Store road*, until we came out upon a large clearing, or old farm without buildings, midway between the Hagerson place on the north and the Chewning place on the south. The latter place was about a mile from Parker's Store. Here our brigade first moved by the flank through the woods on the north of the clearing, feeling for Warren's left. The brigade had advanced beyond Warren's left, and instead we found the right of Ewell's Skirmishers, where they were building a log breastwork near the Hagerson Clearing.

Here we were vigorously shelled by a rebel battery posted south of the run near the Chewning house, the Twentieth Michigan and Fiftieth Pennsylvania were then withdrawn from the woods north of the clearing, and posted on the right and left of the road by which we had advanced.*

Here we lay until the middle of the afternoon, the First Michigan Sharpshooters losing a few men by the shelling and sharpshooting. Our skirmishers had made connections on the right and left so as to fill the gap between Warren's corps and Potter's division.

Early in the morning Potter had struck the left flank of Hill's (Confederate) corps, north of the plank road, had attacked it and driven it for a time, but was then withdrawn further to the left to make connection with Hancock's corps. Here he again attacked, with Hartranft's brigade of our division on his left, but after a severe and bloody struggle was not able to achieve any decisive advantage. The connection with Hancock, whose troops lay along the Brock road, with his right refused, was not established. In this attack Colonel Frank Graves of the Eighth Michigan was killed, and the Second and Twenty-seventh Michigan Regiments of Hartranft's brigade, suffered severely.

At about 3 o'clock our (Second) Brigade was also withdrawn from the *Parker's Store road*, and moved very rapidly back to the meadow and across Wilderness Run, and then out on the road taken by Potter's division and Hartranft's brigade, and plunged into the dense wilderness, thick with undergrowth.

As we moved to the front we passed many dead and wounded, laid out in rows along the road, the wounded attended by the surgeons and Hospital Corps. We came upon Hartranft's First Brigade badly cut up and somewhat scattered through the woods, having been repulsed and driven back. The enemy were not then in sight, but the woods were still dim with the smoke of battle. Here it was that the One Hundred and Ninth New York (Colonel B. F. Tracy's regiment) was rallied by the color guard singing "Rally Around the Flag, Boys," and Christ's brigade quickly formed in line on the left of Hartranft's, the colonel giving the order to "Go in and give 'em hell," which we did to the best of our ability.

The line swept forward in gallant style, the enemy's skirmishers (the Ninth Alabama) falling back before us, until the right wing of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania on our right struck a salient log breastwork, and received a very heavy fire at point blank range, losing seven killed and seventy-one wounded in a few minutes. The bullets flew mostly over the heads of the Twentieth, owing to the lay of the ground, and our loss was very slight. The fire now slackened, as it was getting dark in the woods, and we lay upon our arms that night, in the midst of the dead and dying. The next morning we gathered up the dead and buried them, and collected about 300 stands of small arms scattered through the woods.

Captain McCollum, in his diary written on the next day (the last entry he ever made), says: "The slaughter had been great during the day previous, scores of dead of both sides were collected and identified. About the log works in

*Hartranft's brigade had been sent earlier in the day, double-quick, to reinforce Potter's division, which was hard pressed in the deep woods on our left.

our front thirty or forty of each side could be counted by one without moving out of his tracks. Nearly all were shot in the head or breast."

The enemy had disappeared from our front, having moved back toward the plank road. About 8 o'clock a. m., of the 7th, Robinson's division of the Fifth Corps, in column of battalions, moved down past our front, feeling for the enemy's position. This advance of Robinson was directly between the Ninth Corps and the Second Corps, which lay along the Brock road. During the afternoon the Second Brigade moved to the right, relieving the First Brigade, which, in turn, moved to the right and relieved Potter's division, which was sent to Sedgwick, north of the turnpike.

So ended our active participation as a brigade in the battle of the Wilderness. The Second Division had been much more heavily engaged than the Third, and our brigade much less than Hartranft's.

But the heaviest fighting of the day was along the Orange plank road, south of us, where Gibbon's division of the Second Corps, Getty's division of the Sixth and Wadsworth's division of the Fifth Corps made impetuous charges and forced the enemy back along that road, and victory seemed almost in their grasp, when Longstreet arrived upon the field and fiercely attacked across Hancock's left flank, and his troops were forced back to their original position in front of the Brock road, leaving General Wadsworth mortally wounded in the hands of the enemy.

In like manner, Warren with his Fifth Corps, supported by Sedgwick's Sixth Corps, attacked in the morning on the Orange *turnpike*, west of the Germanna road, and though for a time successful was finally compelled to retire, with no positive advantage gained.

Throughout the day, Stevenson's First Division of the Ninth Corps, was under Hancock's command, along the Brock road, and there rendered excellent service. This was especially true of Leasure's brigade, though Colonel Carruth's brigade lost much more heavily. The total loss in Potter's division was 562; in Willcox's, 521; in Stevenson's, 535; aggregate loss of the corps, 1,640. Total loss of the army, including cavalry, 17,666.

The Wilderness may be regarded as a drawn battle. Lee had succeeded in arresting the movement of Grant to Spottsylvania and gained time to get possession of that strong position. On the other hand he had been repulsed in every attack, had not broken our line, and had gained no other positive advantage, and had lost more in proportion than Grant had, which he could ill afford to do.

Lee was now hurrying his columns southeastward, to get them protected between the *Po* and the *Ny*, while Grant was determined on giving his enemy no chance for rest or recuperation.

Already, on the night of the 7th, the new movement was in progress. Our part in that will form the subject of the next chapter.

In the battle of the Wilderness the Twentieth Michigan had been, as it would seem, almost miraculously spared, and our loss was only nominal.

The effective strength of the regiment as officially reported on May 9 was (present) 19 officers and 328 men.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE WILDERNESS TO SPOTTSYLVANIA.

May 6, 1864.

May 9, 1864.

No man ever saw the battle of the Wilderness.

Generals Grant, Meade and Warren had their headquarters at the Lacey House, on the high hill south of the turnpike, and near its crossing of the Germanna road, but none of them saw, or could see, the battle. The battle was in the woods, and no division or brigade commander saw the entire length of his line while in action, unless it were along the line of the Brock road, where slashing had been done. All that Grant and Meade could see was the troops moving toward positions in the woods, and the smoke of battle rising above the tops of the trees.

It was a musketry battle. It was fought out in the underbrush, where there was no chance to use artillery, or to see the enemy until close upon them.

A few guns placed on the hill at the Lacey House, fired occasional shots up the turnpike where Ewell's corps was hidden in the thick jungle of the Wilderness, and a rebel battery at Chewning's to the southwest fired a few dozen shots in reply. There was pretty heavy artillery firing on the extreme left of Hancock's line, where Longstreet attacked, but that was fully three miles in a right line from the Lacey House, or from Wilderness Tavern. But in the thick woods, where most of the fighting was done, artillery was an impossibility.

When we made our charge just at dusk of the 6th, it was over ground that had been fought over two or three times already that day, and it was sprinkled pretty thickly with those who had fallen in the previous fighting. The undergrowth had been literally mowed off by the musketry fire.

The dead of the blue and the gray were not far from equal in numbers, and in front of the position we held the night of the 6th, where the rebels had met the onset of Potter's division in the morning and of Hartranft's brigade in the afternoon, it was easy to perceive just where their line had met the attack by the dead as they lay where they had fallen. That night we lay down in the midst of the dead and dying, while the woods were on fire only a little way from us in our front.

According to all the maps of the battle of the Wilderness, including the official maps published by the United States, the left of the line of the Ninth Corps overlapped in front of the right of the line of the Second Corps, the two lines being "*en echelon*."

The position where the Twentieth Michigan rested that night was directly in front of, and less than half a mile from, the right center of Hancock's line north

of the plank road. Had we kept on east, as we were going, after driving back the Ninth Alabama, we would have run into Hancock's skirmishers before we had gone eighty rods, and had General Potter, in the morning, pushed on south a quarter of a mile further from his position on our right, he would have come out into the clearing at "Widow Tapp's place," on the Orange plank road, a mile and an eighth from its intersection with the Brock road. About a quarter of a mile east of the Tapp place the plank road turns sharply to the northeast, and continues in that course until it crosses the Brock road, and it was in this angle, between the plank road and the Brock road, that Potter's and Willcox's divisions were engaged on the afternoon and evening of May 6, and there our division remained throughout the 7th and until near morning of the 8th.

At about 1 o'clock p. m., of the 7th, Potter's division was withdrawn and went to the support of Wright's division of the Sixth Corps, west of the Germanna plank road, north of the turnpike, and our division stretched out to the right to cover this line. Here we occupied breastworks which the Second Division had built.

That evening the Seventy-ninth New York and the Sixtieth Ohio, which had not been with us since we left Warrenton Junction, arrived and took position in support of the first line.

At about two o'clock on the morning of the 8th our division received orders to withdraw to Wilderness Tavern, and before it was daylight we had reached that point, the last of the army to withdraw. The brigade lay along the road in front of the tavern until long after sunrise, and in the meantime the Twentieth Michigan and Fiftieth Pennsylvania, with one section of Roemer's Battery, under command of Colonel Cutcheon of the Twentieth, were detailed as rear guard of the corps, which was to move *via* Chancellorsville, thence to the Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania road, and thence to Spottsylvania Court House, along the latter road. This we learned afterward.

While we were waiting at Wilderness Tavern, General Grant and his staff and General Burnside and his staff were in the grove nearby. Many wagons having been taken for the wounded, we destroyed some ammunition by throwing it into Wilderness Run.

It was about 8 o'clock when we finally got on the road. By this time the enemy's cavalry skirmishers made their appearance from the direction of Orange turnpike, west of the Lacey House, but they did not attack. A small rear guard of our own cavalry was out in that direction, and a few shots were exchanged.

The rear guard moved with the Twentieth on the right of the road, left in front, and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania on the left of the road, right in front, so that at any moment, by the simple movement of filing right and left, the two regiments would be brought into line of battle, faced to the rear. This was done several times in the course of the morning.

When we arrived at a clearing a mile east of the tavern, we found large hospitals there, from which the wounded had not been removed. We formed line while all the wagons that could be had were loaded with them, but even then, several hundreds had to be left behind. Nothing else could be done. They were paroled by the enemy.

During the morning we passed over General Hooker's old fighting ground, between Chancellorsville and Wilderness, and the signs of the conflict of 1863 were painfully evident. The debris of battle and the skeletons of the dead were scattered everywhere throughout the woods, where the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps had been surprised and crushed. Fragments of guns, bayonets, haversacks, parts of uniforms, broken canteens, and everything of the kind were scattered promiscuously. The traces of shallow trenches, hastily thrown up, were still almost as plain as a year before. Trees were cut down by cannon shots and the branches of the big trees lopped off, and everywhere were the scars of bullets upon the tree trunks, which a year of growth had only partially obscured.

At 11 o'clock, having moved very slowly indeed, we reached Chancellorsville, and near a fine spring, a little southwest of the cross-roads and the ruins of the Chancellor House, we rejoined the rest of the brigade and halted for dinner. We rested here until about 2 o'clock, while other troops were getting on the road, or, perhaps, getting off the road.

Potter's division of our corps had preceded us to Chancellorsville, and remained there after we had left. The great problem of Grant's campaign was the handling and protection of the immense wagon trains. Cutting loose from his base of supplies, he had to take everything necessary along with him, and the result was a train which he himself said would reach from the Rapidan to Richmond. He had four thousand wagons, not counting gun carriages and caissons.

These had to move by roads which would not block the troops, and yet the ambulances and ammunition wagons must be always at hand when needed. Adequate bodies of troops must therefore be kept constantly near the trains for their protection. As the enemy's cavalry was perfectly familiar with this country and its entire topography, and were liable to pass around our front or rear to attack the trains and capture supplies, it took a small army for the guard of the trains. The Fourth Division of our corps (Ferrero's) was assigned to this duty until the army arrived at Petersburg, and meanwhile we saw nothing of them. For a similar reason considerable bodies of troops had to be left at important points like Chancellorsville to protect the immense trains en route to Fredericksburg with the wounded and to bring up supplies. At about 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday, May 8, our division took the road leading southeast from Chancellorsville to Alrich's, at the point where the Piney Branch church road leaves the old road to Fredericksburg. The distance to Alrich's farm was only about two miles, but the road was so obstructed and the march so difficult that it seemed much longer.

At Alrich's we bivouacked for the night. Both during the march and after we reached the bivouac, we heard heavy firing away to the south, where the battle of Todd's Tavern was raging.

The Fifth Corps was forcing its way to Spottsylvania along the Brock road, and Sheridan with his cavalry was assisting and taking care of the enemy's cavalry in that vicinity.

That evening about dark, Sheridan's cavalry came in along the road from the southwest and went into camp on the adjoining farm, where Sheridan made his headquarters. The Michigan cavalry brigade was camped in an orchard quite

near to us, and many of our brigade went over and visited the Michigan cavalry camp, and met old acquaintances.

May 9 at 4 o'clock, while it was yet dusk, we were ready to take the road, but we had not proceeded more than a hundred yards when Sheridan's cavalry began to pour out from the neighboring farm, taking the road for the famous Richmond raid.

This delayed the brigade nearly an hour, and we then advanced toward the Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania Court House road, which we reached at a point about four miles from the latter place.

We here changed direction to the southwest, and at about 10 o'clock a. m. came in sight of Spottsylvania Court House, from a high point in the road near the Beverly House, one half-mile from Ny River. Our division was the advance of the Ninth Corps; the Sixtieth Ohio was leading the division, with the Twentieth Michigan next in column.

At this moment, General Willcox and staff came to the head of the column, and ordered a halt.

The story of the crossing of Ny River and the engagement which ensued, will be told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIGHT AT NY RIVER.

May 9, 1864.

The fight at Ny River was not a great battle. Only our division was engaged on our side, and two small brigades on the Confederate side. It was a good, lively skirmish, and as a contest for position, was important.

The Fifth and Second Corps had moved directly down the Brock road by way of Todd's Tavern, until they had forced the rebels within their works, on the ridge at Spottsylvania, between the Po and the Ny Rivers.

The Ny takes its rise near the Piney Branch church, about five miles north of Spottsylvania, and the Po rises between Todd's Tavern and Shady Grove church, an equal distance west of the Court House.

The Ny flows in a southeasterly direction, passing about a mile north of the Court House, while the Po flows in the same general direction, passing just about two miles south of the Court House. About eight miles southeast, near Guiney's Bridge, they unite to form the Mattaponi.

Between these two rivers a ridge rises to a height of eighty to one hundred feet, with a broad plateau at the top, where the old court house stood. The village itself consisted of perhaps a dozen buildings, partially concealed behind a grove of pine woods. A weather-beaten court house, a typical Virginia country tavern, a couple of small churches, and a few weather-stained dwellings made up this world-famous hamlet.

From the spot where we halted near the Beverly House, on the morning of May 9, we could make out the court house, with our glasses, at a distance of nearly two miles "as the crow flies." The Beverly House, where we stood, was a fine, large, white plantation house, and had not hitherto been deserted. General Willcox had orders to move to a point marked on the map, "Gate," about half a mile north of the Beverly House, but he had no orders to cross the river. As we marched down from Alrich's that morning, we had heard distinctly the sounds of battle, both artillery and musketry, away to the westward, where the Brock road approaches Spottsylvania, along the ridge, midway between the rivers. There the other corps were all at work that morning—the Fifth and Sixth trying to force their way through by the Harrison and McCool places, and the Second Corps holding the cross-roads at Todd's Tavern, and endeavoring to turn the Confederate left by crossing the Po, far to the right of the Fifth and Sixth Corps.

Soon after halting at the Beverly House, as before related, General Willcox and Colonels Christ and Hartranft, commanding the brigades, gathered on the

grounds in front of the house, and made a careful examination of the approach to Spottsylvania from that direction.

There appeared to be no large body of Confederates anywhere in sight, but a picket at the bridge, about a half mile distant, and a cavalry outpost at the crest of the hill, a half mile beyond the bridge.

As there seemed nothing to prevent, General Willcox decided to cross the river and gain the crest, which would bring our advanced position within less than a mile of the Court House, about twice as near as Warren's and Sedgwick's corps. Accordingly, Willcox ordered up a section of Twitchell's battery, which took position in the dooryard of the Beverly House, and opened on the enemy's cavalry picket at the opposite crest. A few shots dispersed the picket, who retreated precipitately toward the Court House.

Immediately General Willcox ordered an advance, the Sixtieth Ohio leading, a part deployed as skirmishers on the left of the road, and fifty men of the Twentieth, under Captain McCollum, on the right of the road, the remaining companies of the two regiments supporting the movement as a reserve, marching in column down the road at an interval of about 150 yards in rear of the skirmish line.

The stream was quickly passed, the enemy's pickets giving back before us, almost without resistance.

Immediately the skirmishers started on a rapid advance, almost double quick, toward the crest, supported by the Sixtieth Ohio, and they by the Twentieth Michigan.

Colonel Christ, commanding the brigade, rode with the Twentieth, the Fiftieth Pennsylvania following next, and the First Michigan Sharpshooters, Colonel C. V. De Land, commanding, bringing up the rear. When the Twentieth had advanced about half way from the bridge to the crest, Colonel Christ directed Colonel Cutcheon, commanding, to throw his regiment into a slightly sunken roadway leading to a house standing on a knoll about forty rods to the left, and which was at the time supposed to be the "Gayle place," and so called in the official reports. On the government maps, made after the close of the war, it is put down as the "Beverly House." The country about here seems to be supplied with Beverlys.

The regiment at once took position in the sunken road, as a reserve. In our front was a wide, open field, some of it newly ploughed, extending southward to the line of a sunken fence, bordering a road leading southeast to the Gayle place beyond which road was an old pasture, grown up with small sapling pines.

From our position in the sunken road, the fire of the Twentieth could sweep this whole field, except near the road, where the crest intervened.

The Sixtieth Ohio had advanced to the crest and had been there met by a Confederate regiment or small brigade, advancing on the double-quick to hold the ridge. Colonel Christ had thrown the Fiftieth Pennsylvania into line on the right of the Twentieth Michigan.

The Sixtieth Ohio was maintaining its position valiantly, though quite a number, both wounded and unhurt, were coming back. The Sharpshooters were forming for an advance, back near the river, on the left of the road, and McColl-

lum and his skirmishers were at the crest, along the side of a fence, on the right.

At this juncture, the Sixtieth Ohio began to waver, and, by direction of Colonel Christ, Colonel Cutcheon sent forward to their support Company D, Captain Grant commanding, on the double quick. They came in good time, and greatly encouraged the Sixtieth Ohio to hold on till other reinforcements could arrive.

At this time, by direction of Colonel Christ, Colonel Cutcheon also sent a sergeant with twelve men to take possession of the "Gayle House," on the knoll on the left, and Lieutenant C. A. Lounsberry with Company I, 24 men, to take and hold the line of the sunken fence along the road at the south edge of the field, until the Sharpshooters should advance. These orders were executed with the greatest promptness.

Including McCollum's skirmishers, fully four companies of the regiment were now on the firing line. A short lull now followed, during which the First Sharpshooters advanced in line across the field on the left, and took possession of the sunken fence between Lounsberry's company and the position of the Sixtieth Ohio on the crest.

These dispositions had hardly been completed when a heavy line of the enemy, said to be two brigades of Longstreet's corps, advanced rapidly from the direction of the Court House, on both sides of the road.

Before they had fairly opened fire, the Sharpshooters, through some misunderstanding of orders, or other cause, rose up from the sunken fence, where they had a most excellent position, and retreated in disorder across the open field, receiving a severe fire from the enemy's line as they did so.

Things now looked critical. It would be useless here to discuss the occasion of this, but General Willcox attributed it to the break of the Sharpshooters. Colonel De Land, in his report, attributes it to the failure of the Sixtieth Ohio to hold its advanced position beyond the crest, which permitted, he says, an enfilading fire upon his line from the higher ground along the road; also to the bad practice of our batteries.

But whatever the remote cause, the immediate cause was the failure of the Sharpshooters to hold their ground.

But things quickly changed for the better. The Twentieth, by order of Colonel Christ, moved on the double-quick across to the right of the road, and formed on the right of the Fiftieth and together with the right wing of that regiment charged on the double quick to the rail fence on the crest, where McCollum and Grant were already stubbornly fighting, just in time to drive back the enemy's line, which was close at hand.

It was just here that Captain Samuel K. Schwenk of the Fiftieth (now brigade general, retired,) rendered most gallant service in leading the charge of his regiment. He again distinguished himself in the battle of the 12th three days later.

At the same time, the Seventy-ninth New York moved rapidly to a commanding position near the Gayle (or Beverly) House, from which they charged up to the line which the Sharpshooters had abandoned, and the Seventeenth Michigan of Hartranft's brigade dashed up the road on the run and threw themselves

into the fight on the left of the Sixtieth Ohio, getting a raking fire on the advancing rebel brigade, which now broke and disappeared again in the pine woods toward the Court House. This ended the fighting.

The Seventeenth Michigan on this occasion displayed their usual good fighting qualities, and were fortunate enough to arrive on the scene at the deciding moment. We always had pleasant relations with the regiments with which we were brigaded, but there were two that we regarded with positive affection—these were the Second and Seventeenth Michigan. At Ny River we greatly missed the Second, now of Hartranft's brigade, as it had been left on the north side of the Ny and did not participate in the fight.

There were also two Pennsylvania regiments with which we served, and to which we became much attached, they were the Fiftieth, Colonel Christ's regiment, and the One Hundredth, Colonel Daniel Leasure's regiment, known as the "Roundheads." These regiments were staunch and true and never disappointed us in action.

The total loss of the division, killed, wounded and missing, was 188—a very small loss under the circumstances. As in the Wilderness, the Twentieth was extremely fortunate in the matter of casualties.

General Willcox, in closing his report of this affair, says: "The Seventeenth Michigan, Colonel Luce, Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon, Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel Morrison, (who was wounded), and the Sixtieth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel McElroy, distinguished themselves in this affair, as well as Colonel Christ, commanding Second Brigade."

We were now firmly planted on the crest on a level with the Court House, and within about three-fourths of a mile of that point. Batteries were now brought over and the afternoon was actively occupied in entrenching.

During the afternoon the First Division, General Thomas G. Stevenson, commanding, arrived and a part of them were brought over the river. The line was extended on the right and curved back until it rested on the Ny River, and the Second Michigan, Colonel Humphrey, was stationed as pickets along the north bank of the river, extending well up toward the Fifth Corps.

Of the importance of the foothold so gained there can be no doubt, and had the entire corps been up when the first advance was made, and had the other divisions been in position to follow up the advantage when we repulsed the Confederate attack, it seems altogether likely that we might have pushed through to the Court House, and placed the rebel army in a precarious position. In that case, the movement to the North Anna would have begun not later than the night of the 10th of May. On the whole, it was a very neat affair, all in the open, on our side.

The next morning, General Willcox issued the following congratulatory address to his division:

General Field	Headquarters, Detachment of Ninth Corps, Ny River,
Orders.	near Gayle's House, Virginia, May 10, 1864.

The Brigadier General commanding wishes to congratulate the troops on their fine conduct yesterday, the 9th of May, at this place. The Third Division in this

action and that of the 6th instant in the Wilderness has begun its career handsomely. * * * Among the old regiments, where all did gloriously, it would be difficult to single out the one which distinguished itself most. Of the new regiments, the Sixtieth Ohio, which led the attack finely, is entitled to honorable mention. It is to be hoped that one other new regiment will soon regain the good name it won on the 6th instant, and came near losing yesterday. * * *

By Command of General Willcox,

W. V. RICHARDS,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

Cool-headed and steady officers are essential to cool-headed and steady men and regiments, and one panicky officer can bring disaster upon an entire command.

That the Sharpshooters were not deficient in good men and good officers was repeatedly demonstrated in the campaign, and they fairly earned the right to be counted among the fighting Michigan regiments. Never again was there occasion for criticism of that gallant regiment.

CHAPTER XIX.

SPOTTSYLVANIA.

May 9, 1864.

May 12, 1864.

There are three names connected with the history of the Twentieth Michigan which always bring a shade of sadness and regret; they are Fredericksburg, where we suffered so much from sickness and gloom; Spottsylvania, where we lost so many noble men, and "The Crater," the scene of a useless slaughter and unrelieved disaster, where our colors were lost.

The name Spottsylvania comes from the old Spotswood family, who were among the oldest and best known in that part of Virginia. On most maps, and in many works of high authority the name is spelled Spottsylvania (with two t's), but in the government publication, "The War of the Rebellion," it is uniformly spelled with a single letter t,—*"Spotsylvania."* Both spellings have high authority and either may be regarded as correct.

The afternoon and evening of May 9 were well improved in fortifying our position at the crest of the hill, on both sides of the road. From the manner in which the regiments had come up, one at a time, the First and Second Brigades had become thoroughly mixed up. On the right of the road, were the Eighth Michigan, then the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, the Twentieth Michigan, and on their right, the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, Colonel Hartranft's regiment, following the crest around to the right, and extending by a line of pickets along a ridge at the west of the road nearly due north to Ny River. The Second Michigan was detached from the First Brigade, and deployed as pickets along the north bank of the Ny, to open connection with the Sixth Corps on the right.

On the left of the road was the Sixtieth Ohio, then the Seventeenth Michigan, the Sharpshooters, the Twenty-seventh Michigan, the Seventy-ninth New York and the One Hundred and Ninth New York.

No attempt was made to restore these regiments to their proper brigades until the movement on the afternoon of the 11th, and meanwhile Colonel Hartranft took command of the troops on the right of the road, and Colonel Christ of those on the left. It thus happened that we found ourselves under a new brigade commander from the afternoon of the 9th until the night of the 11th. The night of the 9th was spent in quiet, though the utmost vigilance was exercised to prevent a surprise.

On the 10th fighting began early, away across to the northwest, beyond and a little to the right of the Court House, where Hancock with the Second Corps was trying to get in rear of the Confederate left, and compel Lee to abandon his strong salient on the north of Spottsylvania. In that direction the fighting was

heavy all day. The Sixth Corps was next to us on our right, but still about a mile away. Next came the Fifth Corps, and the Second Corps holding the extreme right of Grant's army, having crossed the Po beyond the rebel left, and advanced a mile or so in their rear. Here he was met by the most obstinate and determined resistance, and in the afternoon recrossed the Po and closed toward the left on the Sixth Corps, now under Major General H. G. Wright, the late commander, Major General John Sedgwick, having been killed in the morning by a sharpshooter. These two corps, together with the Fifth Corps, continued the assault on the line of the Brock road.

General Lee had taken up a defensive position, extending from the River Ny on his right to the Po on his left, about two and one-half miles in extent; the right resting on the high ground at the Landrum place, the center in front of the McCool (or McCoul) house, and thence to the Brock road, the left resting on the Po River in front of the Perry place. From the salient at the McCool place the Confederate line made a sharp return at an acute angle, almost due south, until it crossed the Fredericksburg road in our front, only a few hundred yards east of the Court House. The distance from the Court House to McCool's was about a mile and a half, almost due north. Five hundred yards north of the McCool House was the point of the salient which became famous in history as "the Bloody Angle," around which the fighting raged on the 10th, 11th and 12th of May, culminating on the last named day. The east front of the Confederate line was roughly parallel with the Ny River, and followed the edge of the plateau on which the Court House and surrounding hamlet stood. These two lines of Lee's army formed a "salient" nearly a mile in length by a half mile in breadth, thrusting its sharp angle out into the face, and it might be said into the very *heart* of the Federal position, occupied by the Second, Fifth and Ninth Corps. The Ninth Corps, then under the immediate command of General Grant, was entirely detached from the other corps, and no connection was made between them except by picket line, until the morning of May 12. It was around the salient, sometimes on the north, again on the west, and finally on the east that the severe fighting centered from the opening of the struggle on the 8th until the terrific combat of the 12th.

From our position, at the crest of the Spottsylvania plateau, "the angle" bore a few degrees west of north. Just at the right of the Twentieth and near the left of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, was an old weather-stained, deserted house, of which we did not then know the name, but which we afterwards ascertained to be one of the several "Beverly" houses. On some maps, too, it is marked as the "Deserted House."

There is a serious confusion in regard to the names of these houses. The large house half a mile north of the Ny, where we first halted on the morning of the 9th, is called by Generals Burnside and Willcox the "Gayle House." On the government map it is put down as the "Beverly House." On the other hand, a house standing a mile due east from the Court House, on a bare hill, is named on the war map the "Gayle House," while General Burnside calls it "Jett's House," or "Bleak Hill."

The house before referred to, on the right of the Twentieth, stood on the ridge

running toward the Ny, along which our breastworks extended. During the 10th a squad of our men occupied this house as a sharpshooter's post. From the upper part of the house the enemy could be plainly seen all the morning, about three-fourths of a mile away, a little west of north, in large numbers, busily engaged in carrying rails, logs and all sorts of material for the construction of breastworks. It was at about the point where Potter's division made its attack on the 12th. Perhaps it was the firing from the Deserted House that brought on a return fire from the Confederate sharpshooters, down toward the salient. About the middle of the day, Brigadier General Thomas G. Stevenson, commanding the First Division, was mortally wounded by a stray bullet.*

About the middle of the afternoon orders were received from General Burnside for the troops to be ready to advance at 5:30, all along the line. There was to be a simultaneous advance by the other corps, and the Ninth Corps was to swing forward on a general right wheel, of which the Fifty-first Pennsylvania and the Twentieth Michigan were to be the pivot. Between us and the Court House was a pretty thick belt of pine woods, and beyond these woods was a large clearing extending quite up to the Court House.

The purpose of the movement of the Ninth Corps was to throw the left of the line forward so as to reach this clearing beyond the woods, and bring it closer to the Court House. The second purpose was to develop the position and strength of the enemy on that part of the line, and should it be found practicable, to press forward and seize the Court House itself.

This would have turned Lee's right, and forced the abandonment of his advanced position at the salient. In other words, it was to be a reconnaissance or an assault, as circumstances should determine.

It was nearly 6 o'clock when the signal guns were fired from the battery near the Landrum House, and all around our lines the troops moved forward. The Twentieth Michigan never went out to battle in finer form than they did that night. As the troops climbed over the breastworks, the rebel batteries up the road toward the Court House, opened with shrapnel and canister.

Our line here was much curved, the Twentieth being just at the turn in the works, and as the troops pressed forward, the line of battle became very much crowded toward the left, the guide being on that side. Everything was going finely when, not thirty rods in front of our breastworks, a rebel shell burst over and in front of our regiment, severely wounding Colonel Cutcheon and mortally wounding Sergeant Cleveland of Company I. Colonel Cutcheon turned the command over to Major George C. Barnes, and returned to the breastworks, where he was met by Surgeon Chubb, and while the wound was being dressed by the doctor, he fainted from loss of blood. He was then sent to the Field Hospital at the Harris House and on the 11th to Fredericksburg. Colonel Cutcheon's wound proved more severe than was at first supposed, and he did not again join the regiment for duty until July 7, in front of Petersburg.

*It has been stated in the work called "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" that General Stevenson was killed in the charge at about 6 o'clock that evening. The fact is that Gen. Stevenson had brought a part of his division to the south side of Ny River, and was sitting on the ground at the time in a little hollow near where the Twentieth lay in the sunken road on the morning of the 9th of May, when he was hit by a partially spent bullet, and, as before stated, mortally wounded.

The regiment, under command of Major Barnes, advanced only a few rods further that night, and then halted and threw up a new line of breastworks; but the left of the corp's line swung forward, so as to cross the Fredericksburg road nearly 500 yards nearer the Court House than before, and a brigade on the left of the road was thrown forward to the clearing beyond the woods, and within 400 yards of the enemy's main line. All three divisions of the corps took part in this advance, which proved to be no more than a reconnaissance in force, though the fighting on Potter's front continued until 9:30 p. m.

That night all the Ninth corps built a new line of breastworks at the advanced point gained, and rested upon their arms.

May 11 came in comparatively quiet, and both sides were resting and gathering up forces and making changes preparatory to the struggle of the next day. About the middle of the afternoon the entire Ninth Corps, except a line of skirmishers, left to hold the breastworks, was withdrawn to the north side of the Ny, in the midst of a heavy rain storm, and marched to the large clearing between the Beverly and Harris House, which was then our division field hospital, where a line of battle was formed, the left resting east of the Fredericksburg road, and the right reaching nearly to Ny River in the direction of the Landrum House, where the left of Hancock's line rested. General Grant had determined to deliver a grand assault upon the enemy's salient, before daylight of the 12th, and he seems to have planned to bring the Ninth Corps to the support of the Second, by moving it back across the Ny, and then west from the Beverly place. But whatever his first intention may have been, it was apparently abandoned, for, after dark, on the night of the 11th, the First and Second Divisions were again marched to the south side of the Ny, and placed in that part of the entrenchments formerly occupied by our division, extending from Ny River to the Court House road, Marshall's provisional brigade holding the line on the left of the road. Here they remained until about 3 o'clock a. m. of the 12th.

Willcox's division bivouacked near the Beverly House, on the north side, and before daylight they, too, moved once more to the south side and took their place in the corps column, which was then forming on the right of the Court House road. This division was to be the reserve in the operations of the day.

Hartranft's brigade preceded the Second brigade which was that morning, for a time, under the command of Colonel De Land of the Sharpshooters, Colonel Christ having been disabled the day before. Colonel (afterwards General) Hartranft, whose official report is one of the clearest of all, says: "At daylight on the morning of the 12th I moved across Ny River. The corps was being formed in column of brigades, my brigade forming the fifth line, with my left regiment resting on the road, covering the left regiment of the preceding brigade, and about 100 yards in rear of it.

"The left regiment was the directing regiment. As the column advanced, it *changed direction to the right*, making almost a full right angle. As soon as I passed outside the line of rifle pits occupied the day before, I ordered two companies to the left as flankers. As the line was thus advancing, the enemy opened his guns on the left, enfilading the same. In obedience to orders from the general commanding, the front was immediately changed to the left."

As Christ's brigade (now in command of De Land), was ordered to support Hartranft's brigade, they followed the movements of that brigade. General Potter, commanding the Second Division, which led the column, moved further to the right, being ordered to connect with Hancock, and attacked well down on the east side of "the Bloody Angle," his right being nearly east from the "McCool House."

General Thomas L. Crittenden, who had that morning taken command of the First (Stevenson's) Division, came up in support of Potter on his left, extending the line southward, toward our old line of works. Willcox remained in reserve under cover until after noon.

During the morning the Second Michigan, Colonel Humphrey, commanding, had been brought over from the north bank of the Ny, and placed in support of Wright's battery, posted on the Court House road, at the point first gained on the 9th. Later in the day, they were moved to support Roger's battery, further to the right and rear. During the forenoon Hartranft's brigade was formed to attack on the left of Crittenden's division, when he was ordered to march at once to General Hancock. Without even waiting to call in his skirmishers (six companies of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania), General Hartranft marched rapidly toward the right, and had gone about half a mile when the order was countermanded and he was directed to return to his former position.

On reaching it, he found that his skirmishers had been forced back, and he at once formed to attack. At 2 o'clock p. m., Colonel William Humphrey, Second Michigan, was ordered to take command of the Second Brigade, relieving Colonel De Land.

The brigade now consisted of the First Sharpshooters, the Fiftieth Pennsylvania and the Twentieth Michigan. The Seventy-ninth New York had marched away to be mustered out, their time having expired, and the Sixtieth Ohio was still with Marshall's provisional brigade.

Colonel Humphrey was ordered to form the brigade and charge at once. It was 2 p. m. when Hartranft advanced to the charge, but the artillery fire in front, and the musketry fire from the left, were so hot that before long the movement came to a stand still.

At 2:25 p. m. the word was given for the Second Brigade to charge. General Humphrey, in a letter written just before his last lamented sickness, says: "The regiments went in with a vim that would have carried them over the enemy's works had the ground between us and the works been clear, as we had a right to suppose, it was. I had no time to look over the ground, and in the mind of General Willcox, *to charge and at once* was the main thing. He did not know nor did any of our people, that the woods in front of our left sheltered counter-columns of attack, nor of the obstructions in front of the right. There had been no pickets on our front. The woods covered the movements of the enemy completely, and we went it blind."

The brigade line was formed with the Sharpshooters on the right, the Twentieth in the center, and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania on the left. The Sharpshooters on the right overlapped the Twenty-Seventh Michigan on the left of Hartranft's brigade. Hartranft's line consisted of the following regiments from right to left:

Eighth Michigan, One Hundred and Ninth New York, Twenty-seventh Michigan, Fifty-first Pennsylvania (four companies).

The Second Brigade had but three regiments. The Seventeenth Michigan was entirely in the pine woods to the left of the Twentieth, and both the Seventeenth and the Fifty-first Pennsylvania lost their colors in those same woods.

The story of the charge is told by Colonel Cutcheon* in his official report as brigade commander, as follows: "At the same time Colonel Humphrey, Second Michigan, was assigned to the command of the brigade. About the middle of the afternoon the brigade was moved into position to take part in the assault. The brigade was posted in the second line, supporting the First Brigade, General Hartranft commanding, in the following order from right to left: First Michigan Sharpshooters, Twentieth Michigan, Fiftieth Pennsylvania. The Second Michigan was detached, supporting Wright's battery on the Spottsylvania road. All things being in readiness the charge was ordered. On the right, in front of the First Sharpshooters, the ground was covered with a bushy small growth of trees which concealed the movement of the line. On the left, in front of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, was a dense growth of pine timber difficult to pass in line of battle.

"But in front of the Twentieth Michigan was a strip or belt of perfectly open ground, extending up quite to the enemy's works.

"The advance was gallantly made, the line advancing about 200 yards under the most terrific fire of shells, canister and musketry. Under this fire the first line was soon checked and melted away. The second line, however, with such of the first line as joined it in the advance, pushed forward rapidly and steadily, until within a short distance of the enemy's works. * * * The Twentieth Michigan, owing to the openness of the ground over which they had to move, advanced faster and farther than the others, suffering severely, losing almost one-half of their number in a few moments. * * * During the few minutes that the brigade lay in this position, a brigade of the enemy had passed around our left, and charged, with the purpose of capturing the batteries supported by the Second Michigan.

"Pending the *mélee* in the woods, Major George C. Barnes, commanding the Twentieth Michigan, discovered that the enemy was closing up on his rear, and, unless he took immediate steps to prevent it, his regiment would be captured entire. He therefore moved rapidly by the left flank into the woods, and filing to the left, brought his regiment facing to the left flank. He found himself confronted by the disordered fragments of two rebel brigades, and almost surrounded.

"With the men still about him, however, he attacked boldly and cut his way out with a loss of only thirty missing, most of whom have since been found to have been wounded. Major Barnes behaved with the most reckless bravery, exposing himself where it seemed impossible for a man to live, encouraging and steadying his men, regardless of danger. He deserves most honorable mention. He has since fallen at his post. The regiment at large did all that men could

*Cutcheon afterward came to the command of the brigade and made the official report of this campaign.

do under the circumstances, and most of them were at some stage of the fight prisoners, and some were captured and recaptured several times."

Captain Charles T. Allen, Company B, writing of this charge, December, 1901, says: "Humphrey on the line, as marked in sketch. He was riding up our line to the right. In a moment I had fallen. I remained on my side a little time, saw our regiment advance grandly in an unwavering line up through the open field. The firing from the rebel battery was fearful, one continuous roar of shot and shell."

Colonel C. B. Grant, who was acting major that day, writes: "Just before the charge we lay near our battery, which was supported by the Second Michigan, just near the brow of the elevation. Before this we had been further to the left, and had moved to the right. While lying there before the order was given to charge, we were severely shelled, one shell killing four men. * * * There was an open piece of woods to our right, and another one to our left, containing more underbrush, as I remember, mainly of hardwood. It was in these woods that that soldiers of both sides were captured and recaptured several times. When we reached the most advanced position of the charge, I was at the right of the regiment and discovered that we were being shot from the woods at the left. I immediately ran along the line to inform Major Barnes, who was in command of the regiment, I being the acting major. The bullets and shells made such a noise that it was impossible to hear any command ten feet away. Major Barnes, by motion of his hands, rather than by voice, gave the order to move by the left flank and charge into the woods, which we did. Our regiment was in an open space between the two woods."

So ended the bloody charge of the Twentieth Michigan at Spottsylvania. The loss of the regiment, as officially reported at the time, was four officers and thirteen men killed, three officers and seventy-nine men wounded, and forty-four missing. Many of the missing were afterwards found to have been wounded, and some of them died of their wounds. Total loss, 143. The officers killed were Captains McCollum and R. P. Carpenter, two of the most accomplished and most valuable officers of the regiment, and Lieutenants Ainsworth and Gould. The latter was mortally wounded and died in the hands of the enemy. All these officers exhibited the utmost gallantry. Captain Carpenter fell early in the charge, but McCollum on the most advanced line. As there was no truce for recovering and burying the dead, the body was left upon the field, though his sword and revolver and papers were removed and saved by Sergeant Holmes. Among the valuable non-commissioned officers killed in the action was Orderly Sergeant Frank Kingsley of Company H.

From a record made by one of the officers of the regiment, it is believed that the final outcome of the losses of the regiment at Spottsylvania, deducting from the "missing" those known to have been killed or wounded, was as follows:

Officers, killed, 4; wounded, 2; total, 6. Enlisted men, killed, 16; wounded, 102; total, 118. Missing, 19. Total loss, 143.

The regiment went into the charge with about 300 men. This was the most costly day in the whole history of the regiment.

Other regiments, among them, the Seventeenth Michigan, lost much more heavily in prisoners, the larger part of the regiment being taken with their colors and lieutenant colonel commanding.

The regiments all behaved with great gallantry, and the Sharpshooters proved themselves worthy comrades of the veteran Michigan regiments, and never afterwards fell below that high standard.

So far as immediate results were concerned, our losses seemed in vain, though they doubtless counted in the final result in wearing out the forces of the Confederacy.

The success further to the right, at the "Bloody Angle," where Hancock put in his entire corps, was most dearly bought. Nothing but a complete success by crushing the enemy's line, and breaking his power of immediate resistance, could have compensated for the fearful losses of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th of May, 1864. No more terrible fighting was ever witnessed anywhere in the world, and on the 12th it continued all day. But we cannot tell that story.

The grass now grows green where that most bloody tragedy was enacted, and many of the scars of war have healed, and a reunited nation rejoices in its renewed strength and in its increased power and glory. But if we could enter into the secret life of the mothers, wives, sisters and friends of the men who fell at Spottsylvania, and could count the pains and life-long sufferings of the wounded, we would gain some conception of the fearful cost at which this nation was saved.

In Appendix G "Wilderness Campaign" will be found some of the official correspondence on the field, which will throw much light on the actions of the 9th and 12th of May, 1864.

In conclusion, if there was any officer or man of the Twentieth Michigan who did not do his whole duty on that day, the writer has never heard of it.

Conrad Noll, Co. D, afterward received the "Congressional Medal of Honor" for distinguished bravery in this battle, but, as was true at Horseshoe Bend, there were scores who merited it.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM SPOTTSYLVANIA TO PETERSBURG.

May 13, 1864.

June 16, 1864.

NORTH ANNA—BETHESDA CHURCH.

After the charge of May 12 had failed and the mêlée in the woods on the left of our brigade was at an end, the rebels getting off with several hundred prisoners and we doing the same, the division, or what was left of it, was drawn back from the woods, and constructed a new line of entrenchments, connecting with the old line which we had occupied until the afternoon of the 11th.

It had rained by turns throughout the day, and continued to rain a good part of the night.

General Grant had intended to renew his attack on the morning of the fourteenth at daybreak, and an attempt was made to move the Fifth and Sixth Corps past the rear of the Ninth, so as to assault on the east of the Court House. The movement commenced at about 1 o'clock on the night of the 13th, but the rain was so incessant and the mud so deep that the column failed to reach the designated position, and the attack had to be abandoned.

Willcox's division remained in substantially the same place where the night of the 12th found it until the night of the 18th, when it was about to move to the left, but just as the troops were withdrawing, the enemy attacked us on our right, and the movement was postponed until the morning of the 19th.

At 3 o'clock a. m. of the 19th, the Ninth Corps moved from their entrenchments west of the Fredericksburg pike, crossed the Court House road and marched about two miles to the left (southeast), and took position next on the left of the Sixth Corps, Willcox's division being on the right of its corps. Our corps had no fighting on this day, but just before evening, Hill's and Ewell's corps of Lee's army came out near the "Angle," crossed the Ny River midway between the Landrum House road and the Fredericksburg pike, and attacked General Tyler's provisional division near the Harris House, and attempted to gain possession of the Fredericksburg road. A sharp engagement ensued around the Harris House, but the attack was finally repulsed by reinforcements from the Second and Fifth Corps.

May 20 was a quiet day. At 9 p. m. on the 21st the division marched in a southeast direction, keeping mostly on the east side of Ny River, and reached Guiney's Station on the Richmond & Fredericksburg Railroad on the morning of the 22d; marched from there at 10:30 a. m., and at 4:30 p. m. passed White Oak (or Bethel) Church, where Generals Grant and Meade then had their headquarters, and camped one and one-half miles beyond it.

May 23 marched from Bethel Church to Ox Ford (or Oxford) on the North Anna River, and there our division relieved Mott's brigade of the Second Corps. Willcox's division occupied the north side of the ford that night with orders to assault in the morning, and carry the ford. Dispositions were made accordingly. Rifle pits were thrown up along the north bank of the river, and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania took possession of an island in the river as an advanced post. The Twentieth Michigan was ordered to lead the assault, in forcing the crossing. Upon reconnaissance of the enemy's position, however, it was found so strong and the prospect of success so doubtful that, most fortunately for us, the attack was abandoned.

General Lee had chosen his position at North Anna with his usual skill, both from an engineering and strategic standpoint. His right wing covered Hanover Junction on the Richmond & Potomac Railroad, his left extending across the Central Virginia Railroad in front of Anderson's Station, with a strong second line a half mile in rear, resting on Little River at Newmarket. The center of his line lay along the south bank of the North Anna, from Oxford to a point three-fourths of a mile below, and was itself a natural fortress, the banks being high and rocky, and thoroughly screened with woods.

Admirable locations for artillery had been selected, and the entire position formed a right angle, with the salient at Oxford, not unlike the salient at Spottsylvania Court House.

The 25th and 26th of May were occupied in sharpshooting, while fighting was going on upon our right by the Fifth Corps and Crittenden's division of the Ninth, and on the left by the Second Corps, reinforced by Potter's division.

On the morning of the 27th the brigade, once more under the command of Colonel B. C. Christ, marched to gain the crossing of the Pamunkey River at Hanover town. Taking an easterly route we marched nearly to the Mattaponi River at Reedy Mill, thence almost due south to Mangohick Church, and at about midnight of the 28th crossed the Pamunkey near Hanover town, and, at 1 a. m., bivouacked about a mile beyond the river, eighteen miles from Richmond. This was one of the hardest day's marching the regiment ever had. The distance made was twenty-two miles, the roads were sandy and dusty, and the men suffered a good deal from heat and thirst. After a few hours of rest, the division moved forward and took up position near Haw's Shop, about three miles from the point of crossing the Pamunkey. There was some skirmishing during the day, but the Twentieth Michigan was not engaged. A detail of 100 men, under command of Colonel Humphrey, was made from the regiment to reconnoitre to the left toward Totopotomy Creek. After going out a mile or more to the left, and not finding the enemy, the brigade moved back and camped that night toward Hanover town.

On the morning of May 30 the entire corps advanced to the southwestward, and forced the crossing of Totopotomy Creek, and took up position on the south side, with its right near the Whitlock House, just south of the south bend of the Totopotomy, and the left on the Shady Grove Church road, the line facing nearly west, the left of our corps line being about two miles northwest of Bethesda Church. There was constant skirmishing all day.

May 31 our brigade was in support of the First Brigade, Colonel Hartranft commanding, skirmishing all day, and at night threw up a new line of works within 200 yards of the enemy's main line.

June 1.—Of this day General Willcox in his official report, says: "Toward dusk an attack was made on the Fifth Corps and First Division of the Ninth Corps immediately upon my left. The latter had their right across the road, and at this point were driven in, exposing my Second Brigade's left, which I threw back slightly, and which held its own supported by a regiment of Hartranft's brigade, until the First Division troops were rallied and the line re-established.

"My troops behaved with the utmost coolness and gallantry under circumstances so trying."

General Willcox further says: "June 2 marched to Bethesda Church with the First and Second Divisions. The enemy pressed down the road taken by the First Division, but was held in check by the Twentieth Michigan, of Christ's brigade, until the First Division formed to resist an attack, which followed heavily, the enemy capturing an old line of works hastily occupied by the First Division. No other troops of mine but the Twentieth Michigan were engaged in the affair."

Colonel Christ, commanding the brigade at this time, made no report of this campaign, and therefore we have no record of his understanding of the affair. Colonel Cutcheon in his official report, made up according to information obtained from regimental commanders afterward, says: "On the 2d of June, as the brigade was leaving its position about Bethesda Church to move to the vicinity of Cold Harbor, the movement being delayed by some cause, and the troops at this time in column of route, the Twentieth Michigan was sent back to guard the rear by picketing two roads near their junction, on which the enemy was advancing.

"Major Barnes had not yet completed the deployment, when he was suddenly struck by the skirmishers of the enemy, supported by two lines of battle. The regiment stood its ground as long as possible and then fell back and took position on the reverse side of an old line of rifle pits. Here they were reinforced by the troops of Marshall's (provisional) brigade, but soon after dark the enemy again attacked in force. The Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery broke, leaving one flank of the Twentieth exposed. Major Barnes deployed his men in a thin line and maintained his position. The Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry (dismounted), not at that time attached to this brigade, also stood its ground well, and these two regiments repulsed the attack. Before midnight the Twenty-fourth withdrew, leaving the Twentieth Michigan entirely isolated, with no connection on its right or left. Major Barnes therefore moved by the flank and made connection with the Second Division, Ninth Corps, where he remained until daylight. At one time during the fight the regiment (Twentieth Michigan) had not two rounds of ammunition to the man. On this occasion Major Barnes displayed his usual bravery and coolness, and by his prompt dispositions when the attack was first made, did much to prevent unfortunate results. I cannot but feel that considerable credit is due the regiment for main-

taining their ground when their support had been withdrawn from both flanks and their ammunition exhausted."

The loss of the regiment in this affair was three killed, 19 wounded and thirteen missing.

On the next day, June 3, the regiment was in the second line in support of the First Brigade. Loss on this day, one officer wounded, one man killed and fifteen men wounded. The fighting was extremely heavy on the left, near Cold Harbor.

June 4.—The division moved about two miles to the left, and took position near the "Woody House," in a line of works previously occupied by the Second Corps. This line was one mile nearly due north from "Old Cold Harbor," and faced nearly toward the north, and formed the new right flank of the position of the army. On this day the Forty-sixth New York Veteran Volunteers returned to the brigade.

The regiment remained in this position, building forts and breastworks and taking their turn in skirmishing, until June 12, when, at 5 o'clock in the evening, they started on their great flank march to cross James River, and attempt to seize Petersburg, where they arrived on the morning of June 16, after a most arduous and exhausting march.

During this period, the services of the regiment were most severe and trying, but still there was nothing distinctive that requires special mention, after the affair at Bethesda Church.

On June 9, the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry (dismounted) were transferred from the First Division and assigned to the Second Brigade.

By this time the regiment had been reduced by its severe losses to less than one-half of the number of men it had at the opening of the campaign. Sergeant Arnold, Company D, records in his diary under date of June 3: "We now stack 140 guns." But the regiment had honored every demand upon it, and had won the admiration and praise of General Willcox and of all who commanded it. Major Barnes had repeatedly distinguished himself, and all, officers and men, had acquitted themselves gallantly.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN FRONT OF PETERSBURG.

June 15, 1864.

June 20, 1864.

The flank movement of General Grant's army from Cold Harbor to Petersburg, a distance of about fifty miles, including the passage of James River by an army of about a hundred thousand men, with all its trains, at a point where the river was fully 700 yards wide, and about 80 feet in depth, was not only one of the greatest strategic feats of the war, but it was one of the greatest of its kind in the military history of the world.

It would be most interesting to follow this movement in detail, from the time it commenced on the evening of June 12, until the afternoon of the 16th, when nearly all the Army of the Potomac, except the Sixth Corps, which acted as rearguard, covering the trains and bridges, had arrived and taken up their positions in front of Petersburg.

The report of our division commander, General Willcox, covers this part of the campaign in three lines, as follows:

"June 12—In the night marched for James River *via* Tunstall's Station, crossed the Chickahominy River on the 13th at Jones Bridge, and the James on the 15th near Wilcox's Landing."

And this is all that is told of one of the most severe marches and one of the most important strategic movements the division ever made.

The official report of the brigade commander is even briefer, simply stating that on the 16th of June "the brigade appeared before Petersburg."

The regimental report of this part of the campaign was written by Major C. B. Grant, who took command of the regiment on June 18, after Major Barnes had fallen, mortally wounded. It is also quite brief, as follows: "June 12 we withdrew from Cold Harbor, bringing up the rear of the division as rearguard, which duty we performed until 11 p. m. of the 13th of June. Reached James River at 6:30 p. m. of the 14th of June, and sent out seventy-five men on picket. On the 15th crossed the James River, marched all night and took up position in front of Petersburg."

It would seem from this, as the regiment "marched all night," that it must have arrived in front of Petersburg on the morning of the 16th.

Colonel William Humphrey, then commanding the Second Michigan, in Hartranft's (First) brigade, in his official report, says: "At 10 p. m. of the 12th of June, the regiment with the brigade withdrew from its position about Cold Harbor and took up its line of march for James River, going *via* Tunstall's Station, and crossing the Chickahominy at Jones' Bridge, reaching Wilcox's

Landing on the James about 5 p. m. of the 14th. On the evening of the 15th crossed the river and moved direct for Petersburg, before which place we arrived about 3 p. m. of the 16th."

More satisfactory than any of these official reports is the record in the diary of Sergeant George B. Arnold of Company "D," as follows:

"JUNE 12.—Everything quiet until 5 p. m., when we received orders to move. Moved at 8 p. m.; marched all night in the direction of White House Landing.

"JUNE 13.—Halted at 5 this morning for coffee. Laid there until 8 a. m. Went within three miles of White House Landing and turned to the right; went in the direction of Hare Landing on James River; went within three miles of Chickahominy River and went into camp at 11 o'clock at night. Marched twenty miles. Our regiment was rearguard for the corps.

"JUNE 14.—Up at 4. Marched at 4:30 a. m.; crossed the Chickahominy River at 6 a. m. at Jones' Landing; halted one mile west for coffee; marched eight miles further and went into camp one mile from James River at 1 p. m.; made eleven miles today.

"JUNE 15.—Laid in camp till 7 p. m., when received orders to march; marched at 9 p. m.; crossed the river on pontoons at 12 midnight. It was a mile wide where we crossed.

"JUNE 16.—We marched all night in the direction of Petersburg; halted at 8 a. m. for coffee; rested till 10 a. m.; marched to within four miles of Petersburg, and formed line of battle in support of the First Brigade. The regiments went on picket, skirmishing all night."

This is by far the most intelligible and satisfactory account of this march that we have been able to find. There is one error, however, which should be corrected, that is, as to the length of the pontoon bridge. General Grant in his report says it was 700 yards or 2,100 feet in length. It was located near Fort Powhattan or Wilcox's Landing, and the corps after crossing, marched on the road to Old Prince George Court House, and thence by the most direct road, coming upon the Petersburg line east of Harrison Creek and between the "Dunn House" and the "Shand House," the interval corresponding with the line afterward included between Fort Stedman and Fort Morton.

The Eighteenth Corps had carried the extreme right of the enemy's line from Appomattox River to near the Dunn House, on the 15th.

On the 16th the Second Corps had advanced and seized the "Hare House" on the high hill where Fort Stedman was afterward built.

The "Shand House" stood on the east side of Harrison Creek, and three-fourths of a mile due east of the site of Fort Morton. Harrison Creek took its rise on the Shand place in an almost impervious swamp, and flowed nearly due north about parallel with the Confederate lines, and emptied into the Appomattox River between Fort McGilvery and Battery V.

All members of the old brigade will remember Harrison Creek as the small stream which flowed near our brigade headquarters when they were situated in rear of Fort McGilvery and Battery Nine, during the winter of 1864-65.

They will also remember the dense swamp in which it took its rise, east of

Fort Morton, extending northward from the wide plain to the south and east of the "Shand House," near which General Willcox had his headquarters in the summer, as far north as the "Dunn House," or Fort Stedman.

A little north of the Shand House the Harrison Creek Swamp divided, the lesser branch extending north and *east* of the house, and the main part being a deep ravine with steep sides, extending *west* of the Shand House and nearly half a mile past it to the southward. In the forks of these two branches, on the high ground north of the Shand House, was Confederate Redoubt No. 14, being a part of their main exterior line.

East of the Shand House was the wide plain along which the military railroad was afterward built.

It was upon this plain, near to the Shand House and east of the swamp, that the Twentieth, with the rest of Willcox's division, first formed line of battle in front of Petersburg. But no attack was made by the Second Brigade that night. It will be noticed that Sergeant Arnold says that the Second Brigade "formed line of battle *in support of the First Brigade.*" As Colonel Humphrey says that the First Brigade arrived at about 3 p. m., it must have been quite late in the afternoon when the line of battle was formed. The brigade then went on picket in front of the position held by the Second Corps, further to the right.

At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 17th, Potter's division, Griffin's brigade on the right and Curtin's on the left, rushed to the works at the "Shand House," and Redoubts 14 and 15 on the right and left, taking the line with the bayonet, and capturing four cannon, five stands of colors, 600 prisoners, and 1,500 stands of small arms, with very small loss upon our part. The enemy was completely surprised. This was one of the most brilliant strokes made by our side in the operations against Petersburg.

On the west side of the Harrison Creek Swamp, and between it and "the belt of woods" which extended along the ridge back of the site of Fort Morton, the Confederates had constructed a second line of works, with infantry parapets and artillery emplacements, which commanded the open field eastward to the ravine of Harrison Creek. This second line extended along the west slope of the valley of Harrison Creek, though not continuously, as far north as the City Point Railroad.

This line terminated a little south of "the belt of woods." This point in the open field formed a most important salient in the enemy's line, and was really the key to their defensive position north of the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad.

It was absolutely essential to carry this point before further advance could be made on the right and left. The elaborate Confederate outer line of forts, extending east of and nearly parallel with Harrison Creek, from the Friend House on the north to Redoubt No. 14, north of the Shand House, had been carried by the Eighteenth and Second Corps, but the rest of the outer line, from the Shand House to the Norfolk Railroad was still in their possession.

It was therefore essential for the enemy to hold this second line west of Harrison Creek while the new permanent line from Cemetery Hill to the Jerusalem plank road was being fortified.

Early on the morning of June 17th, General Willcox received orders to assault

this position between the Harrison Creek Swamp and the "belt of woods." Hartranft's brigade had been on duty in the lines further to the right through the night, and had to be moved by the left flank in rear of the Second Corps, and through the tangled thickets along Harrison Creek. This consumed much time. The division was finally formed with Hartranft's brigade in the first line, and Christ's (Second) brigade in the supporting line.

Hartranft's brigade was formed with the left in the open ground beyond the swamp, and the right thrown back into the ravine, the Second Michigan having the right of the line.

According to General Hartranft's report, it was 2 o'clock p. m. when the order was finally given for the charge. But when the advance was made, a wrong point of direction was given to the First Brigade by Major Morton, engineer on General Burnside's staff. This charge was made across a plowed field, and so great a cloud of dust was raised by the advance and by the missiles of the enemy, that it was impossible to see the enemy's works. The result was that the line of the First Brigade swung to the right, and swept along northward *in front of the rebel line*, instead of across it. The left of the first line struck the rebel breastwork and was nearly annihilated.

The First Brigade melted away under the murderous flanking fire, and Colonel Christ's brigade advanced about half way from the ravine to the rebel works, and finding the first line gone, lay down there and threw up slight, temporary entrenchments. Here they held on till night, when they participated in a second assault in conjunction with Ledlie's First Division.

In this charge the First Michigan Sharpshooters struck a salient of the enemy's works, and carried the point in a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, in which that regiment captured three officers and 86 enlisted men and a stand of colors. But the enemy, having been reinforced, returned to the fight with the result, after another desperate struggle, that 77 of the Sharpshooters, including their adjutant, were taken prisoners of war. The gallant captain, Levant C. Rhines, commanding the regiment in the attack, was killed in the final struggle. This ended the fighting of our brigade for the day, in which the Twentieth Michigan took no distinctive or separate part.

During the night of the 17th, the enemy retired about three-quarters of a mile, and took up a new position behind the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad on the slope of the ridge back of Taylor's (or Poor) Creek, known as Cemetery Hill, where the battle of the Crater was fought on July 30.

"On June 18," says General Willcox in his official report, "at about 4:30 a. m., I was ordered to move forward again and attack. A party of skirmishers was sent out in advance to feel for the enemy, and reported that the latter had fallen back, and with skirmishers deployed I moved on, Hartranft's brigade in front, across the fields and *into the woods*, toward the Taylor House." This was the "belt of woods" so often mentioned, just east of the site of Fort Morton. The "Taylor House," it should be explained, stood near the site of Fort Morton, north of the Norfolk Stage road, also known as "the Baxter road," which came up the hill a little south of Fort Morton, and passed along the south end of the "belt of woods." The "Taylor House" site was a commanding

position, and the ground sloped rapidly to the westward—toward the city—the line of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, making a deep cut along the lower face of the slope. At the foot of the hill flows "Taylor's Creek," and about 175 yards beyond it, on the opposite slope, was the new rebel line. This line had been skilfully laid down, so that this whole railroad cut was swept and enfiladed by both musketry and artillery, from a point a few hundred yards to our right, near the railroad bridge across Taylor's Creek.

Major Grant's report of this day's operations is incorporated in full in Colonel Cutcheon's regimental report, which will be found in the appendix.

It is brief, and as follows: "On the 18th of June the regiment made a charge across a wide, open field and through a deep cut on the Suffolk Railroad, suffering very severely from a galling cross-fire. Then charged again from the railroad up to within 160 yards of the enemy's works, and threw up the rifle pits. Our loss on this day was about half the effective force engaged."

Colonel Cutcheon's report as brigade commander, bearing date "Near Poplar Springs Church, October 23, 1864," gives the story of the day as follows:

"June 18, at daylight, it was found that the enemy had retired during the night and taken up a new line on Cemetery Hill, beyond the Suffolk (should be Norfolk) Railroad. The brigade advanced in line of battle through a thick belt of pine timber and emerged into an open field of grain, sloping gradually toward the railroad and the enemy's works.

"The Sixtieth Ohio was deployed as skirmishers, facing to the right, to protect that flank. The remnant of the First Michigan Sharpshooters was engaged in throwing up works for Roemer's Battery, near the edge of the above mentioned belt of timber. About half of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania was also employed as flankers on the right. The remainder of the brigade charged in line for a quarter of a mile across the open field, suffering severely from a galling fire from a very long line of the enemy's rifle pits. The railroad cut was reached, but it afforded no shelter, for it was enfiladed by a storm of bullets.

"The men attempted to climb out of this cut, but only to be mercilessly shot down and to fall back among their comrades. The loss at this point was severe. Toward evening another advance was made, which was pushed to within 150 yards of the enemy's line. Here the men constructed slight works for their protection, and before morning the brigade was relieved and moved to the rear. In the charge of the 18th, Major George C. Barnes, commanding the Twentieth Michigan, was mortally wounded. He was an officer of chivalrous bravery, and I have had occasion to mention his valuable services more than once. He was a born soldier, and he died like a soldier, leading his command."

Major Barnes fell in the charge across the field, about half way between the belt of woods and the railroad cut.

FORT MORTON should have borne the name of Major Barnes, who fell almost upon the very spot where it stood rather than that of Major Morton, who was mortally wounded in the Harrison Creek Swamp on the 17th, a full half mile in the rear.

During this day three different brigade commanders were successively wounded and retired from the field; namely, Colonel B. C. Christ, Fiftieth Pennsylvania;

Colonel Raulston, Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, and Lieutenant Colonel Travers, Forty-sixth New York. The latter was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Newberry, Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry.

In addition to Major Barnes, commanding the regiment, mortally wounded, the Twentieth Michigan lost Captain W. A. Dewy, Company A, and Lieutenant George B. Hicks, Company C., killed, and three other officers wounded; also ten enlisted men killed and forty-one wounded. In proportion to the number actually engaged, this loss was greater even than that on the 12th of May at Spottsylvania Court House.

On the morning of the 19th the second Michigan was transferred from the First Brigade to the Second and COLONEL WILLIAM HUMPHREY was once more assigned to the command of the brigade, which he did not again relinquish until mustered out of the service, on September 30, 1864.

Colonel B. C. Christ, wounded on the 18th, did not again return to the command of the brigade, and mustered out at the same date with Colonel Humphrey.

On the fall of Major Barnes, Captain C. B. Grant, Company D, who had been acting as field officer, took charge of the regiment, which he continued to hold until July 7, when Colonel Cutcheon returned from hospital and resumed command, which he retained until assigned to the command of the brigade, October 16, 1864.

The assaults upon the Petersburg lines, commenced by the Eighteenth Corps on the 15th of June, continued by the Second Corps on the 16th and repeated by the Second, Fifth and Ninth on the 17th and 18th, having all failed to crush the enemy's defense, and General Lee having by this time concentrated his army from the north of the James River, General Grant now sat down to besiege the place.

The attempt to carry the place by assault had proved a costly one. The total loss of the Army of the Potomac in the four days' fighting was upward of 10,500 in killed, wounded and missing. Loss of the Ninth Army Corps, 2,991; of Willeox's division, 1,408; of Christ's brigade, 827; of the Twentieth Michigan, 69.

This closes the first epoch of the Petersburg campaign.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SIEGE OF PETERSBURG—BATTLE OF THE CRATER.

June 20, 1864.

August 1, 1864.

The assaults upon the Petersburg lines having failed, as above stated, General Grant now determined to reduce the place by siege. The siege operations, however, were combined with, and from time to time, supplemented by field movements upon both flanks of the army and upon both sides of James River.

But whatever else was doing, the siege of Petersburg went steadily on, never ceasing, never relaxing, until the final break up came in the early days of April, 1865.

During the siege the part of the Twentieth Michigan was not so distinct from the general operations of the brigade and division as to require much detailed and separate account. The official reports in the appendix will afford an outline of the more important events, and the connecting narrative might very well be brief. But for special reasons connected with the "battle of the Crater," it is proposed to treat that important event as a whole. First, it is impossible to separate the story of the Twentieth Michigan from the general action; second, the battle was fought entirely by the Ninth Army Corps, and upon a field so circumscribed, that the entire battle came under the observation of the writer; third, there has been more discussion and conflict of opinion in regard to the battle of the Crater than almost any other event of the war. It resulted in a long congressional investigation and a military court of inquiry, terminating in the removal of General Burnside from his command, and the censure of other officers of the corps. In the hope of throwing some light of historic value upon this much discussed and deplorable disaster, the usual rule will not be closely adhered to.

On the morning of June 19 the regiment was withdrawn from the front line west of Taylor's Creek, where it lay within 150 yards of the enemy's main line, and was encamped in "the belt of the woods," back of the site of Fort Morton, and near the "Taylor House," which occupied that site.

On June 20, at 10 p. m., with the rest of the division, it moved to the right, to the vicinity of the "Hare House" (near where Fort Stedman was afterward built), and relieved a division of the Second Corps, next to the Eighteenth Corps. It remained here until 2 o'clock on the morning of June 24, when it was relieved by troops of the Tenth Corps, and the brigade moved back to a position in the main line, just at the left of the road, then known as the "Suffolk road" or the "Baxter road," which passed through our lines a little to the left (south) of the position occupied by the regiment on the night of June 18.

The road-bed of the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad passed a little in rear of the brigade line; and in front of our line, through a little valley, ran Taylor's Creek—a mere brook—which took its rise between the lines in front of Fort Rice, about half a mile to our left.

On the south side of the Suffolk or Baxter road, and almost directly in our front, on the Confederate line was a two-gun battery, known to us then as the "Suffolk Road Battery," and to the Confederates as "Davidson's Battery." It was distant from the right of our regiment, about 180 yards. It played an important part in the battle of the Crater, July 30, 1864.

Our picket line was advanced beyond Taylor's Creek; and not only the pickets, but the main lines were so near to each other as to be in almost point-blank range.

Few days passed that some one in the brigade was not killed or wounded. To show one's head above the breastwork was almost sure to bring a bullet within uncomfortable nearness. This life soon became monotonous, and the men became so accustomed to the danger that they exposed themselves incautiously, if not recklessly.

In a little grove of trees on the right of the Baxter road was an ice house, or, rather, ice-well, sunk into the ground. In the bottom of this ice-well was a small quantity of ice, protected by straw, and many a man exposed his life, and several lost their lives, while endeavoring to secure a small piece of this ice. Where the regiment lay was a narrow ridge, which broke down sharply in front, to Taylor's Creek, and in the rear sloped more gently back to the railroad bed.

Into this side hill the men dug cellars or "dug-outs," opening to the rear, and over these excavations pitched their shelter tents; and so long as they remained in their "dug-outs" they were quite safe. A guard was kept along the breastwork, and convenient ditches or "covered ways" led from the trenches back to the quarters. In these "dug-outs"—muddy in rainy weather, and dirty at all times—with no means of bathing or washing clothing, and a scant supply of proper water for drinking, toilet and cooking purposes, the regiment lived from the 24th of June to the night of the 25th of July, 1864, when it was once more withdrawn from the front line.

At daylight of the 26th of July the brigade, now in command of Colonel Humphrey, Second Michigan, moved to the rear and camped in the open field, which was a part of the Shand Place, back of the belt of woods, and not far from the place where the Sharpshooters made their charge on June 17.

Supposing that we were to rest here for some time, a regular camp was made, in an open field, almost grassless and without shade. But at noon of July 27, the regiment received orders to be ready to move, and at 2 o'clock p. m. we marched two and one-half miles to the left and rear and took post near the Norfolk Railroad, in the direction of Wells' Station, on the headwaters of Blackwater Creek. Here we remained on outpost duty as support to the cavalry, guarding the herds and trains and protecting the rear of our lines, until the night of the 29th of July, when, at 6 o'clock in the evening, just as we were anticipating a night of quiet and rest, orders came for us to break camp and

march, and at 9 o'clock we were on our way back to the front, to take part in the bloody assault of July 30, known in history as the "BATTLE OF THE CRATER."

We marched back by the Norfolk stage road, and bivouacked on the plain, about midway between the "Avery House," which was Fifth Corps headquarters, and General Willcox's headquarters, back of the "belt of woods." It was about 11 p. m. when we were told to let the men lie down and rest until called. The night was warm, the sky was clear, the men spread their blankets on the ground and lay down under the open sky, in line just as they had halted. Some slept, no doubt, but many did not. Troops were moving all about us, and artillery was rumbling along past, going into positions, before day should dawn and disclose their presence. About midnight the company cooks were sent to the rear to make coffee for the men, and have it ready to serve before daylight. Details of men were made to report to division headquarters with axes, picks and shovels, to act as pioneers.

As soon as the first blush of daylight began to show in the east, the men were roused, and silently fell into ranks to move to the front.

The line in front of Fort Morton, where our brigade had fought on the evening of the 18th of June, was pushed up nearer to the rebel line than at any other point, being at one period only 125 yards from that line; and this advanced part of our line was commonly called by our men "*the horseshoe*." Directly in front of the "horseshoe" and opposite to Fort Morton, upon a swell of ground rising some thirty-five or forty feet above Taylor's Creek, was a Confederate fort, mounting four pieces of artillery, occupied by Pegram's battery, supported by two battalions of South Carolina infantry. This fort or battery formed a salient in the Confederate line, known as "Elliott's Salient," pushed forward beyond the general trend of their line, and we who had occupied the "horseshoe" during the month of July, were well aware that a tunnel or mine had been run from the bank of Taylor's Creek, inside our line, under this fort. The work was commenced soon after we occupied that position, and had been carried on mainly by the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel Pleasants. They were a regiment of miners from the anthracite coal region.

It had become common for the men of our command to speak of "Elliott's Salient" as "the mined fort." The length of the tunnel was about 500 feet, with two lateral chambers at the extremity, extending laterally about 75 feet, and the whole charged with about 8,000 pounds of gunpowder in eight magazines, extending north and south under the fort.

When the regiment reached the bivouac on the plain on the night of the 29th, the commanding officer, Colonel Cutcheon, who had resumed command, having reported from hospital July 7, had been informed by General Willcox that the mine was to be sprung at daybreak; that then the Ninth Corps was to make the assault, and that our brigade was to form a part in the storming column.

It was about 3 o'clock a. m., July 30, when the men were roused; coffee was served, the details for special service sent off, knapsacks were piled and left under guard, and at a little before 4 o'clock the head of our brigade column, following Hartranft's First Brigade, entered the covered way between Roemer's Battery and Fort Morton. The other two white divisions, Ledlie's and Pot-

ter's, had already preceded us, and were forming for the assault in the narrow strip of meadow which bordered Taylor's Creek. The ziz-zag covered way was gorged with troops, and it was quite impossible for us to advance until they were out of the way.

Ledlie's (First) division was formed to the left, and Potter's (Second) to the right of the axis of the mined fort.

All the troops of the Ninth Corps had been relieved in the front line by the Eighteenth Corps, so as to leave our entire corps free to make the assault.

Ferrero's (colored) division was massed in reserve in the belt of the woods, back of Fort Morton, ready to be brought forward as soon as the way was clear. Such was the disposition of the troops at 4 o'clock, the hour when the mine was to have been sprung.

The dawn was already increasing and the slight mist of the night was rapidly disappearing, so that we could make out the enemy's works, when the moment came for the explosion. But we waited in vain, no explosion came. Then followed nearly an hour of the most intense strain while we waited.

The fuse had been lighted at the proper time, but had gone out inside the tunnel, at a point where it had been spliced.

After waiting long enough to make sure that the fuse had failed, Colonel Pleasants, who had charge of the mine, called for volunteers to enter the tunnel and relight the fuse. At about half-past four two men of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania entered the tunnel and relighted the fuse.

The sun was about rising above the horizon, and some of the garrison of the mined fort and along the rebel works could be seen moving about, while their bugles began to sound the reveille.

The morning was cloudless, and a deep and ominous stillness reigned everywhere, yet within half a mile of the mined fort were not less than 45,000 men ready to spring forward in a moment and move to the assault. It was just 4:45 a. m. when the explosion came, and our brigade still lay in the covered way, filling it from Taylor's Creek back to Roemer's battery. The Twentieth Michigan was the third regiment in the column.

The regiments were all very small, averaging probably less than 250 men each, so that we were not far back from the head of the column, and a large part of the regiment had a perfect view of the explosion, which was hardly more than 200 yards from the head of the regiment. First there came a deep shock and tremor of the earth and a jar like an earthquake; then a heaving and lifting of the fort and of the hill on which it stood; then a monstrous tongue of flame shot fully two hundred feet into the air, followed by a vast volume of white smoke, resembling the discharge of an enormous cannon; then a great spout or fountain of red earth rose to a great height, mingled with men and guns, timbers and planks, and every kind of débris, all ascending, spreading, whirling, scattering and falling with great concussions to the earth once more. It was a grand and terrible spectacle, such as none of us had ever seen before or will ever see again. More than 250 of the garrison were involved in the destruction. Then a vast cloud of dust and smoke settled over the hill and hid it from view. Scarcely had the great fountain of earth settled back to the ground, when our

batteries opened from a hundred guns upon all points of the rebel line from which an artillery fire might be expected.

The entire Confederate line seemed at first to be stunned and to awaken slowly to the situation. The most of Lee's army was absent on the north side of the James River. Only Hokes', Bushrod Johnson's and Mahone's divisions were holding the lines south of Petersburg. Hoke's division was on the rebel left, Johnson held as far south as the Jerusalem plank road, and Mahone extended from that point to the river above the town.

Before the dust and smoke of the explosion had drifted away, Ledlie's (First) division climbed out over our breastworks and advanced up the slope in column, to the breach made by the mine.

The "CRATER" formed by the explosion (from which the battle takes its name), was about 120 feet long, about 60 feet wide and from 15 to 30 feet deep, with side walls as steep as the earth could lie. This pit or "Crater" was surrounded by immense and irregular piles and masses of red clay, which had been lifted out of the pit by the explosion and had fallen for many yards around. In some cases immense blocks of clay, of many cubic yards in size, encumbered the ground and gave evidence of the titanic force which had lifted them from the solid earth.

Beyond the Crater and to the right and left, the ground was cut up by bomb-proofs, traverses, ditches, covered ways and excavations of all sorts, sizes and directions, until it had become a veritable labyrinth, over which it was literally and physically impossible to march troops or to retain formation. We saw Ledlie's troops go forward. They went by flank, in column of fours. They were good troops of proved valor, but their division commander, who had only recently come to the Ninth Corps, did not go up with them.

There were six regiments from Massachusetts, two from New York, two from Pennsylvania and one from Maryland. In climbing out of the breastworks and getting through the abatis they were somewhat disordered, and in running up the slope to the rebel works, as always happens in such cases, the lines opened out and organizations became more or less mingled.

These eleven small regiments, in three small brigades, numbering perhaps about 3,000 men, poured directly *into* the Crater and its immediate surroundings and became inextricably mingled and confused from the very start. Going up in that way, under fire, into such a place, it was inevitable. General Ledlie and his staff, or most of them, remained inside our breastworks.

The brigade and regimental commanders sought in vain to reform their troops and to lead them toward the crest, 500 yards beyond the Crater. It was impossible to form them where they were, and they could only be moved forward to the open field beyond, *as individuals*, and not as organizations. But, at one time, between 8 and 9 o'clock, a few hundred of them were got into line upon the open slope beyond, but only to be driven back by the withering fire, which by this time had been concentrated by the enemy.

At about 5:30 a. m., Potter's gallant Second Division, of fourteen regiments, all but three from New England, went over our works at the right of the Crater and, sweeping forward up the slope, seized the Confederate line for a distance of

two hundred or two hundred and fifty yards on the right (north) of the mined fort, as far as a ravine which came down through the Confederate line at that point. On a small rise of ground to the right of this ravine was Wright's rebel battery of four guns, which enfiladed our line, doing fearful execution. But Potter held on and extended to the right, until he had crossed the ravine. One of Potter's regiments, the Second New York, advanced on the right of the ravine to within a few yards of Wright's battery, but were so enfiladed by General Ransom's Confederate brigade, further to our right, that it was impossible for them to carry the position or hold on where they were.

On some parts of this line the rebels occupied one side of the breastwork, while our men held the other.

By 6 o'clock the Confederates had recovered from their surprise and paralysis and began to concentrate a heavy and destructive fire, of both musketry and artillery upon the breach.

When Ledlie's division advanced, Willcox's moved up and took its place immediately in rear of our breastworks. This was soon after 5 o'clock and here our brigade lay until near 8 o'clock, in column of regiments, closed in mass.

The Second Brigade, Colonel William Humphrey, commanding, consisted of the First Michigan Sharpshooters, Second Michigan Infantry, Twentieth Michigan, Forty-sixth New York, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Sixtieth Ohio and the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry (dismounted). The brigade was divided into two wings or columns; the right wing consisted of the three Michigan regiments, in the order named. This wing was to attack the breastwork immediately on the left of the mined fort; the left wing consisted of the other four regiments, in two lines—the Forty-sixth New York and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania in the first line and the Sixtieth Ohio and the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry in the second line. These were to go over our breastwork at the left of the "*horseshoe*" and, wheeling to the left, assault and carry the two-gun battery on the Suffolk (or Baxter) road, and seize the rest of the rebel line from that road up to the point reached by the right wing.

Hartranft's brigade had charged soon after the advance of Ledlie's division, but receiving a severe fire from the "Suffolk Road Battery," it had obliqued to the right in advancing and, instead of taking the line to the left of the mined fort, as intended, it only increased the gorge and confusion in and around the Crater. There never was a more gallant soldier than General John F. Hartranft, and there were no braver men than he commanded. Their failure to take the line was not for the want of a good commander, or of gallantry on the part of the men. It was the consequence of the manner in which the assault was directed piecemeal against the labyrinth of the Crater and its surroundings, instead of pushing a heavy column against and over the comparatively open line between the Crater and the Baxter road, to the crest.

Now followed a long delay while efforts were being made to get the five brigades already up to reform beyond the Crater and charge to the crest of the hill, 500 yards beyond, but without success.

About 7:30 Ferrero's division of colored troops was brought forward, with orders to form beyond the Crater and charge to the crest. Our brigade was still

lying in column of regiments behind the breastworks, awaiting orders to advance, when the black division poured past us in columns of fours. They were in good order, well closed up, and seemed full of enthusiasm.

They went up on the run, under a pretty sharp fire, stringing out somewhat as they advanced. Instead of directing this column to the left of the Crater, they, too, were led directly into the mined fort, and passed out upon our right beyond.

They were the first considerable body of troops to pass beyond the surroundings of the pit, and form in order of attack beyond.

The time had now come for our brigade, as all the rest of the corps had already advanced. It was now between 8 and 8:30 o'clock. As soon as the last regiment of the colored division had passed out, the order came, "Forward, Second Brigade!" The three Michigan regiments on the right moved out promptly, the Sharpshooters on the right, the Second in the center and the Twentieth on the left. The guide was right, and our regiment was ordered to keep closed to the right on the Second.

No sooner had the Second Regiment cleared the breastworks than the order was given, "Forward, Twentieth Michigan!" Colonel Cutcheon was in command, with Major Grant, who had received his commission only a few days before, second in command. The regiment was reduced by casualties to about 125 men. Every man was in his place, and instantly the regiment responded to the command, and climbed out of the breastworks, (it was as high as a man's head) and, as they were struggling through the abatis, a blast of canister from the Suffolk road battery swept through the line, leaving several of the men dead or dying upon the field, but the rest rushed forward without faltering, through a storm of bullets that hissed around them, until, after a hard run of about 200 yards they drew themselves upon the rebel breastworks, about 50 or 75 yards to the left of the mined fort. Meanwhile the other regiments had obliqued to the right, where the contour of the ground was more favorable, and disappeared from our sight behind and beyond the piles of earth thrown up from the crater. Our regiment numbered only 115 guns in line when it started, and perhaps 100 reached the rebel works. We were the extreme left regiment that did so that day. The regiment captured some 30 or 40 of the enemy in the line, including two commissioned officers, all of whom were sent to the rear. Right here, be it said, chapters could be written of personal reminiscences of that day, but all must be omitted, except such as relate to the regiment itself. One of the rebel officers was mortally wounded just outside his breastworks, hit by a bullet from his own side.

We lay here partly within and partly outside the breastworks for some time—it is impossible to estimate the time—perhaps half an hour. About this time the officers of the colored division had succeeded in forming a good part of them beyond the Crater, and started to advance to the crest, when a brigade of Confederate troops sprang up from a shallow ravine which extended in an oblique direction across our right front of the mined fort. This was Mahone's old brigade of Virginia regiments, and they fell upon the right flank of the colored troops with extreme fury and energy. It is probable that the fact that for the

first time they confronted former slaves in arms added to the ferocity of the attack. A large proportion of the white officers of the colored division fell at the first onset, leaving the negroes without leaders, and the division quickly gave back.

Some regiments of Griffin's brigade of Potter's division had formed, or were forming, beyond the line of the rebel works, and these were swept back with the rest. The stampede, once begun, was not arrested at the Crater, at least only in part, but continued back to our own lines, carrying along hundreds upon hundreds, both black and white.

It was during this stampede that General Hartranft, the ranking officer of the Ninth Corps present at the Crater, ordered the Twentieth to move up to the left of the fort to assist in checking the panic; and in obedience to this order, the regiment, or what remained of it, passed along the trench and into the left part of the fort, which portion of it was not wholly destroyed, where they assisted as best they could in stopping the stampede.

Here they remained through the rest of that horrible and bloody day, until about 2 o'clock p. m., when most of them, pursuant to orders, withdrew to our own lines, from which we had advanced in the morning with high hopes of success.

The Twentieth Regiment participated with the other troops in repulsing several charges made in attempts to recover the Crater, but it was as individuals rather than as an organized regiment.

By noon the Crater and its surroundings had become a veritable "slaughter pen," packed as it was with the disorganized remnants of four divisions.

At about 12:30 p. m., as stated by General Hartranft in his official report, orders came into the Crater from General Burnside that the troops should withdraw to our own line, but that the officers present with the troops were to use their best judgment as to the time and manner of withdrawing.

This order was delivered to General Hartranft, who called together a few of the officers near him, including General Griffin, Colonel Cutcheon and Major Grant, to confer in regard to the execution of the order. It was decided to hold on until dark if practicable, in order to avoid the heavy loss of life which must result from withdrawing by daylight, and some steps were taken to cut a covered way or ditch back to a depression, through which our line might be safely reached. But we were without tools or sandbags, and our ammunition was exhausted.

The day had been intensely hot, and the men had been exposed in the broiling sun without food or drink since the night before. Many were completely overcome and used up.

Subsequent to the consultation mentioned, some time between 1 and 2 o'clock, at the suggestion of General Hartranft, Colonel Cutcheon volunteered to run the gauntlet to our works, to secure the much needed ammunition, tools and sand bags. Within our line he could find neither brigade nor division commander anywhere nearer than Fort Morton, and before anything effective could be accomplished—almost immediately in fact—the final charge was made upon the Crater, and General Hartranft gave the order to withdraw, which was done in

much haste and disorder. At the same time all those belonging to other divisions, on the right and left and around the Crater, who could do so, retreated to our lines. So ended the "BATTLE OF THE CRATER."

Of the Twentieth Michigan, six were killed, twenty-seven wounded and nineteen enlisted men and one officer missing—total fifty-three, almost fifty per cent of the number who started on the charge. Among the missing—who remained in the Crater and were taken prisoners—were Lieutenant Barnard and the color guard. Color Sergeant Alexander Bush, who had carried the national colors throughout the campaign with the greatest gallantry, did not get the order to withdraw, and with the rest of the guard was surrounded and captured. His well-earned commission as a lieutenant came only a few days afterward, but it was several months before he was able to accept it and muster upon it. The colors we never saw again until many years after the close of the war, when they were turned over to the state by the United States, having been recaptured with the city of Richmond, April, 1865.

The story of the part taken by the other four regiments of the brigade can be told in a few words in the language of Colonel Humphrey, commanding the brigade, in his official report, as follows:

"At 8 o'clock the three regiments on the right of the line charged across the field as directed, taking the pits in their front, and the men by whom they were occupied. After clearing our pits the Forty-sixth New York hesitated, lost connection with the regiment on its right, broke and crowded through and carried with it the regiment on its left (the Fiftieth Pennsylvania) to the road (the Baxter road). These regiments were afterwards put in the pits, forming our front line, where they remain to this time (August 4, 1864).

"This charge, so far as the instructions were carried out, was a success, and had it not been for the careless breaking of the Forty-sixth New York, there is no doubt but that the whole line would have been carried, and the troops occupying it captured, and the achievement of the object for which we set out in the morning, rendered more than probable. The regiments that reached the enemy's works helped hold those works against three assaults of the enemy, and were among the last to obey the order to retire at 2:30 p. m."

Of this same matter, General O. B. Willcox, in his official report, under date of October 29, 1864, says: "The Second, Twentieth and First Michigan Regiments went in line and, with no great loss, carried the pits the length of their line, capturing some forty prisoners; but the Forty-sixth New York broke, and in their disgraceful retreat, threw two remaining regiments of the Second Brigade into temporary disorder, and separated them from the line of battle."

Such is the plain story of the "battle of the Crater." With the most brilliant promise of a great success when the explosion took place, it proved the most disastrous affair of the whole war, and the most depressing upon the army and the country. It was especially most unfortunate for the reputation and morale of the Ninth Army Corps.

General Meade asked for a court of inquiry, which was ordered, and met at headquarters of the Second Corps on August 6 and sat until September 9. The court was composed of General W. S. Hancock, General R. B. Ayres and Gen-

eral Nelson A. Miles—all named by General Meade, and they found, as might have been anticipated, almost everybody connected with the Ninth Corps at fault. On their report General Burnside was relieved of command, and did not again return to active service in the field. General Ledlie was also promptly relieved and disappeared utterly from our horizon. It was an unfortunate day when he came to us.

Probably no event of the entire war gave rise to deeper feeling or longer or more acrimonious discussion, and that discussion and feeling have not yet entirely ceased, forty years afterward.

It is pertinent to this history and due to truth to say that the conduct of the Twentieth Michigan on that day was entirely satisfactory to the brigade and division commanders; and the regimental commander has always thought that the regiment—what there was of it—never behaved more worthily than on this occasion. For his services at this time and in the other actions around Petersburg, Colonel Cutcheon received the brevet of brigadier general, which was quite as much a tribute to the regiment as to the commander.

The attack did not fail from want of courage or sacrifice on the part of the men of the corps. The men were brave, and there was a superabundance of sacrifice.

These were the same men who, at Knoxville, in November, 1863, had repulsed Longstreet's eight brigades, in their assault on Fort Sanders. They were also the identical troops who, in March, 1865, held the lines on the right of Petersburg against General Gordon's ten thousand men, and who recaptured Fort Stedman, with more than 2,000 prisoners. They were also the same brigades that on the morning of April 2, 1865, fought with unsurpassed courage and dash at Fort Sedgwick on the Jerusalem plank road, only half a mile to the left of the Crater, capturing Fort Mahone and breaking the enemy's main line and holding it, thus rendering Petersburg untenable.

The fault was not with the bravery of the troops. The corps lost in killed, 50 officers and 423 men; wounded, 124 officers and 1,522 enlisted men; missing, 79 officers and 1,277 enlisted men; making a total loss to our corps of 3,475.

These were the figures immediately after the battle. The corrected figures increased the number of killed and wounded and reduced the number of the missing.

General A. A. Humphreys, who was General Meade's chief of staff at the time, puts the loss of the corps at 3,500. General Meade reported it much larger. It was certainly all too large.

The loss of the colors was a great grief to the regiment. Had the color guard received the order to withdraw it might have done so, and this loss would have been avoided. The regiment remained in the "horseshoe" until the night of August 1, when it was withdrawn to the plain east of the belt of woods, near the head of Harrison Creek, and not far from General Willcox's headquarters.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SIEGE OF PETERSBURG—*Continued.*

WELDON RAILROAD—REAM'S STATION.

August 1, 1864.

September 29, 1864.

So large a space has been given to the story of the "battle of the Crater," not because the part taken by the Twentieth Michigan was especially important or notable, but because the affair itself was the most peculiar and the most discussed of any in which the regiment participated. In the hope that a plain statement by an eye witness and a participant may have some historic value in making clear the real situation and the causes of the failure, that story has been retold.

In a few words, it was the labyrinth of the Crater and its surroundings, as described, in the last chapter, that was primarily and fundamentally responsible for the failure of the assault. But this might have been avoided by sending the troops in two columns of attack, of two divisions each, against the works on the *right* and *left* of the Crater—Potter, supported by Ledlie on the right and Willcox, supported by Ferrero on the left—the latter to carry the two-gun battery on the Baxter road, and then advance up along that road to the crest, and the former to rush Wright's battery, on the right of the ravine, and then push for the high ridge in the direction of Cemetery Hill. With the aid of our abundant artillery to keep down the Confederate artillery fire on the right and left, the crest ought to have been ours within forty minutes after the explosion. The plan of dragging brigade after brigade through the Crater itself was fatally faulty, both in conception and in execution.

The remnant of our regiment remained in the breastworks directly opposite the Crater until midnight of August 1. The whole day of July 31 was consumed in negotiations for a cessation of firing to enable us to bury the dead and succor the wounded, who still lay between the lines. Hundreds of the dead and dying lay in plain view, but it was impossible to reach them, as the entire ground was swept by the fire from the rebel breastworks.

During the night of the 30th many of the less seriously wounded had been able to crawl into our lines, and some of the men in our works, at the risk of their own lives, had crept up the slope and assisted their wounded comrades off the field. On the morning of the 31st the sight was a most horrible and painful one. Around the Crater and between the lines the ground was thickly strewn with the bodies of the dead, while moans and cries for "water," indicated that the dying were mingled with the dead. The weather was intensely hot and the stench of the battlefield soon became most sickening.

Early in the morning on the 31st, Major P. M. Lydig of General Burnside's staff, appeared upon the line of our brigade with a white flag, which he waved from the top of our breastwork. Before long a response was made from the Crater, and Major Lydig, accompanied by Colonel Cutcheon, who had gone on duty as division officer of the day at midnight of the 30th, advanced across the field and met a Confederate officer, midway between the lines. Negotiations continued throughout the day, but it was not until well into the night of the 31st, that the truce was finally agreed upon for the burial of the dead, August 1.

Meanwhile many of the wounded had died, but relief was administered to many who still survived. On the next day about 400 of our dead were buried upon the field, midway between the lines.

The regiment remained encamped east of the belt of woods and west of Harrison Creek from the 1st to the 14th of August. During this time muster and pay rolls were made out, and on the 13th the men were paid off. As this was the first rest since the beginning of the campaign, records were brought down, reports of operations written and recommendations for promotions to fill vacancies were made, and quite a number of commissions received for those previously recommended.

On August 3, as appears from the official report, the regiment was able to muster only 81 enlisted men. When this number had increased to 100 by the return of sick and wounded from the hospital and from special detail, Colonel Cutcheon divided the regiment into three provisional companies, and assigned officers accordingly.

On August 7, Major C. B. Grant was detailed on recruiting service in Michigan, and immediately proceeded to Michigan on that duty, and did not again return to the command until November 18. August 5 was observed throughout the army and the country as a day of fasting and prayer, and solemn and fitting services were conducted in the regiment.

On the evening of August 14 the regiment once more moved back into the trenches on the left of the "horseshoe."

On August 13 General Burnside received a formal leave of absence from General Grant and on his departure, he turned the command of the corps over to Brigadier General O. B. Willcox, the senior division commander present. But on the next day, August 14, General Meade assigned Major John G. Parke, who had been Burnside's chief of staff, to the command of the corps, and he continued its commander until the close of hostilities, and the breaking up of the corps. General Burnside did not again return to the army. His star had gone down in the clouds that overhung the disaster of the Crater, and that closed his military career.

General Burnside entered the service at the very beginning of the war as colonel of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He commanded a brigade in the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, and was soon after made a brigadier general. In the winter of 1861-62 he organized the expedition to the coast of North Carolina and gained a brilliant success at Roanoke Island and at Newberne.

This was the beginning of the Ninth Army Corps, and their badge, displaying a crossed anchor and cannon, was derived from the North Carolina expedition.

On the failure of McClellan's peninsular campaign of 1862, General Burnside, with the greater part of his troops, was brought to Virginia in time for one division under General Reno to take part in the Second Bull Run battle, August 29 and 30, 1862. The Ninth Corps was then organized as such, and consolidated with the army of the Potomac, and was under the command of General Burnside in the subsequent battles of South Mountain and Antietam, where it rendered most gallant and valuable service. On November 7, 1862, against his own desire, General Burnside was ordered by the president to take command of the Army of the Potomac. The disaster at Fredericksburg followed, and General Burnside, at his own request, was relieved of the command.

Then followed his assignment to the Department of the Ohio, the organization of the Army of the Ohio for the relief of East Tennessee, the Morgan raid, and the capture of his force, the movement to Knoxville, the redemption of East Tennessee, the successful defense of Knoxville and his assignment to reorganize the Ninth Army Corps for the campaign of 1864.

During that campaign the corps rendered very valuable and distinguished service under his command, but it did not enjoy the favor of General Meade, due, perhaps, to the fact that for some time it was not attached to the Army of the Potomac and was not under his command. The result was a constant friction between the two generals. General Burnside being the senior of the two, as heretofore stated, he was relieved of the command, and remained inactive until April 15, 1865, when he resigned. General Burnside was much esteemed and beloved by his old corps, and in spite of the two disasters associated with his name, his old soldiers kept their faith in him, and believed that the fault lay with others, who failed to carry out his plans, rather than with him.

After the close of the war he became governor of the state of Rhode Island for several terms, and then was elected to the senate of the United States, of which he remained a member until the time of his death.

It may be that there never will be a consensus of opinion as to General Burnside's place as a soldier, but there can never be any question as to his unfaltering patriotism and his entire devotion to duty.

On our return to the trenches on the night of August 14, the old order of things was resumed—the daily firings, the occasional artillery duels, the nightly alarms, a man killed now and then, and some one hit almost every day.

So it went on until the night of the 18th, when we were once more withdrawn from the trenches, and our entire division assembled on the plain not far from the "Avery House." The division had hardly been together before, except in action and under fire, since the day it crossed the James.

We lay quietly near the Avery House, until the morning of the 19th, and then commenced the movement toward the left, to reinforce General G. K. Warren and the Fifth Corps, on the Weldon Railroad, where we had heard the sounds of battle throughout the 18th.

Taking the main road leading southwest to Globe (or Yellow) Tavern, keeping mostly covered by the dense woods, with the flanks well protected by flanking skirmishers, we marched slowly and cautiously, and at about noon arrived

in the open field north and east of the "Globe Tavern," on the Weldon Railroad, known as the "Dunlap farm." The division had just formed columns of brigades, by battalion front, the men were making coffee, and the trains and stragglers were just coming up, when suddenly from the woods on the right and front, came the sharp rattle and crash of musketry. On the previous day General Warren had gained possession of the railroad, and had to some extent entrenched himself thereon. General Grant was seeking to cut off, one by one, General Lee's lines of supply. On the 18th, General Warren had been able, with the Fifth Corps, to maintain his hold on the railroad, but he had called for reinforcements, and the Ninth Corps, or a part of it, had been sent to him.

At the first alarm our divisions fell in and formed line of battle, the First, now under the temporary command of General Julius White, formerly of the Twenty-third Army Corps, facing the firing, nearly due north, and ours, the Third, under Willcox, facing nearly west toward the woods on the north side of the railroad, toward Petersburg.

Potter's Second Division was not engaged on this day, being employed in making connection between the troops on the Weldon Railroad and our former position, near the Jerusalem plank road.

The First Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General J. F. Hartranft, formed on the right, supporting White, and our (Second) Brigade, under Colonel William Humphrey, was on the left, and faced more to the west, up the line of the railroad.

The First Brigade advanced into the thick woods on our right, where they immediately became hotly engaged with the enemy, the Eighth Michigan especially suffering severely, the commanding officer, Major Belcher, being killed, and several other officers disabled. Many of the Eighth fell back to our line and formed on the right of the Twentieth, until their own brigade withdrew from the woods. After considerable manoeuvring in support of the First Brigade, our (Humphrey's) brigade was marched 500 or 600 yards to the left, toward the railroad, where we were formed in two lines, and ordered to charge into the woods and retake the pits of General Crawford's division of the Fifth Corps, from which a part of that division had been driven earlier in the afternoon, thus making a wide gap in our line. After the battle of the 18th, General E. S. Bragg's brigade of Cutler's division, Fifth Corps, had been sent to the right of Crawford's division to feel for and make connection with the left of the picket line of Potter's division of the Ninth Corps, somewhere south of the Jerusalem plank road. The woods were dense, the wood-roads confusing, and Bragg's line extremely thin, in fact hardly a good picket line. Against this, General Lee sent General William Mahone—a lifelong resident of Petersburg and familiar with these woods and every road and track through them—and Mahone marching with his old Virginia brigade, now under Colonel Wisiger, and Clingman's and Colquitt's brigades, easily broke through Bragg's line, with very little opposition, and turning to the right, following roads familiar to him, succeeded in getting in the rear of, and cutting out, most of Bragg's brigade and the right brigade of Crawford's division, commanded by Colonel Peter Lyle, Ninetieth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and Mahone, then changing to the right, swept the larger part of the

brigade, as prisoners, into the Confederate lines. Half a dozen field officers, 33 line officers and 721 of the rank and file of Lyle's brigade were thus captured. It was to retake the line so lost that our brigade was now ordered to charge. The Twentieth was in the second line. It was now getting near evening, and we moved cautiously into the woods, having no connections on either flank, until within charging distance of the pits occupied by the enemy; then we charged on the double quick with a wild yell and took the pits with a dash, capturing a stand of colors and about 100 prisoners.

Along the line of the rifle pits so retaken we found abundant evidence that the attack on Lyle's brigade had been a complete surprise. About 300 stands of small arms were gathered up from the ground, and in one place were many guns standing in stacks, with the accoutrements hanging upon them.

There were also a number of shelter tents standing nearby, as if the men had taken refuge in them from the showers which occurred at about the time of the capture.

The loss of the regiment in this affair was fortunately very light. The line which we took was a shallow pit in a swampy wood and partially filled with water. Here we spent the night, wet and muddy, while much of the time the warm rain poured down on us in torrents. During the evening some part of the Fifth Corps came up on our right and left, and the line was reestablished. Daylight, on the morning of the 20th, was most welcome, and advancing our pickets we found that the enemy had retired from the woods and were not in sight in the open fields beyond.

At about 10 o'clock a. m., the brigade was withdrawn from the line in the woods and stationed in the open fields in the direction of "Yellow Tavern," but almost immediately the Twentieth was sent back again to the pits to act as a grand picket on that part of the line. The regiment was deployed in a thin line, so as to occupy the whole space previously occupied by the brigade, and here we remained until about 8 o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when we were relieved by the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, and moved out of the woods and back into the fields near the Yellow House. Here we remained until past noon, when the enemy attacked in heavy force on both sides of the railroad, but most heavily on the southwest side.

Mahone's division attacked along the line, where we had been posted, and they were permitted to come on until they had advanced through the slashing and into the clearing, when several batteries of artillery opened upon them at short range with a destructive fire, and they were quickly repulsed and driven back into the woods.

During this engagement our regiment was moved back to the line of artillery redoubts, and there threw up heavy breastworks.

On this day we were spectators rather than participants of the fighting, and our loss was nominal only, being one officer and five men wounded in the two days' operations. The total loss in the seven regiments of the brigade was 131, of whom 6 were "missing," being captured from the Sixtieth Ohio, on the picket line.

On the 22d August our brigade advanced on the right of the railroad, in a

reconnaissance in force, through the woods and across the open fields beyond, a distance in all of about three-quarters of a mile, to the "Johnston House," in advance of any of the fighting of the past three days. We then supposed that a new line was to be established here, to be connected with the old line near Jerusalem plank road. But just as we were "making ourselves comfortable" for the night, we were ordered to withdraw, which we did in a heavy downpour of rain.

On August 24th we again moved, to a point to the right and front of the "Aiken House"—about a mile northeast of the "Yellow Tavern"—and commenced constructing a heavy fortified line near the site of Fort Howard.

Here we were engaged in making a regular camp, when at noon of August 25th (next day) orders came to proceed with our division with all speed to the assistance of General Hancock, then heavily engaged with the enemy at Ream's Station.

General Willcox desired to go directly down to the railroad, which would have been a distance of only about five and a half miles; but we were ordered to follow the Jerusalem plank road to a point known as "Shay's Tavern," where a road turned off at right angles to Ream's Station. The distance by this roundabout way was about twelve miles. The division was marched very rapidly to the plank road, near Fort Stevenson, and thence down that road, passing a part of Mott's Division of the Second Corps at "Shay's Tavern," and then turned off toward Ream's station. While still some two or three miles from the field where the battle was raging, we began to meet great numbers of stragglers and deserters streaming to the rear in a continuous procession. It was now between 5 and 6 p. m. At this point General Willcox received an order from General Hancock to deploy a part of his troops and arrest the stragglers and organize them with his regiments, and form a line to cover the withdrawal of the Second Corps. General Willcox now ordered the Twentieth Michigan to be deployed, supported by the rest of the brigade. While we were still engaged in this work another order came from General Hancock to General Willcox to hurry forward with all speed to the battlefield. We were now near enough to hear not only the flight of the shells, but also the rattle of the musketry and even the shouts and yells of the combatants. In obedience to the orders we went forward, nearly at the double quick.

It was getting dark, and we were still some way from the fighting, when we met the head of Hancock's column, coming off the field. The fight had proved disastrous to him. His lines had been broken, his breastworks taken, nine of his guns captured, with a loss of 610 killed and wounded and 2,150 captured, together with 12 stands of colors and upwards of 3,000 stands of small arms.

This was the worst defeat the Second Corps ever suffered. When General Hancock met General Willcox, directly at the head of our regiment, which was then leading the division, Willcox inquired how the battle had gone. "Licked like hell," was Hancock's laconic reply; and such proved to be a true statement of the situation.

Our division covered the withdrawal of the Second Corps, and held the line of the road until after midnight, and until the stragglers ceased to come in;

then leaving the rearguard duty to the cavalry under General Gregg, we returned along the Jerusalem plank road until we reached the "Williams House," on our rear line, and there we lay down and rested until after sunrise, when we returned in a leisurely way to the "Aiken House," and once more took possession of our camp, which we were destined to occupy until the 29th of September.

The battle of Ream's Station was almost as disastrous as, and much more disgraceful than, the battle of the Crater. In the latter engagement no regiment refused to obey orders, or to advance when properly led, but at Ream's Station, according to General Hancock's own report, regiments sullenly refused to attempt to retake their works, or even to fire when commanded. He accounts for this by the very great losses the corps had suffered in its best officers during the previous campaign and the large number of raw recruits and hired substitutes, who had been brought into the ranks by means of large bounties and advanced pay. These men were not of the same quality as those who had enlisted as volunteers during '61 and '62, and no corps had suffered more than the gallant Second. Many of these recruits, substitutes and conscripts were rushed to the front without drill or discipline, and with the purpose to "flunk" or desert at the first chance. It was a bitter and disgraceful ending of a campaign magnificently begun at the Wilderness and at the "Bloody Angle" of Spottsylvania.

During the ensuing month, until September 29, we were engaged in building fortifications between the Jerusalem plank road and the "Aiken House," and particularly in fortifying a strong "rear line" to protect the left and rear, so that we could withdraw a large part of the troops for field operations on the left. Our line was well back from the rebel works, and there was little firing during the time.

During the month of September a few recruits arrived from Michigan, who gave employment to some of the non-commissioned officers in drilling them into shape for soldiers. During this time the army was resting from its long and most exhausting campaigns, and the government was making great efforts to fill up the decimated ranks. It was the necessity of disciplining this raw material that delayed the fall campaign. But toward the end of September the note of preparation again sounded, and on September 29 the fall campaign opened.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SIEGE OF PETERSBURG—POPLAR SPRINGS CHURCH—BOYDTON PLANK ROAD—HATCHER'S RUN.

September 29, 1864.

October 31, 1864.

On September 13, 1864, while we still lay in camp near the Aiken House, a mile east from Globe Tavern, the arrangement and organization of the Ninth Corps were changed.

On September 1 Ledlie's division had been discontinued, the larger brigade being assigned to Willcox's division, and what was left of the other brigade, to Potter's division.

On September 13 the numbering of the divisions was changed, so that Willcox's became the FIRST, POTTER's the SECOND and FERRERO's the THIRD.

On November 28 six new Pennsylvania regiments joined the corps at Peeble's farm, and were organized into a provisional division and placed under the command of Brigadier General Hartranft, who had been promoted since the arrival of the troops at Petersburg; and when, on December 15, the colored division was assigned to the Army of the James and became a part of the Twenty-fifth Army Corps, Hartranft's Provisional Division became the Third Division of the corps, and so remained to the close of the war.

That portion of Ledlie's division transferred to Willcox was consolidated into the Third Brigade, First Division, under Colonel Napoleon B. McLaughlin, of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts. It was composed of the following regiments:

Third Maryland (4 companies).

Twenty-ninth Massachusetts.

Fifty-seventh Massachusetts.

Fifty-ninth Massachusetts.

Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery.

One Hundredth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers.

The Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Massachusetts and the One Hundred and Seventy-ninth New York, formerly of the First Division, were transferred to the Second Division (Potter's).

This organization of our division remained practically unchanged until the close of hostilities.

The command of the brigade remained in Colonel William Humphrey until September 30, when he mustered out, and General J. F. Hartranft was assigned to the command until October 8, when it temporarily passed into the hands

of Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Newberry, of the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry.

On October 16, by order of General Willcox, Colonel B. M. Cutcheon, Twentieth Michigan, was assigned to the command of the brigade, which he retained until March 6, 1865, when he was succeeded by Colonel Ralph Ely, Eighth Michigan, who remained in command until the regiment was mustered out, May 30, 1865.

Having noted the changes of organization and of commanders, we now resume the thread of the story of the regiment.

On the night of September 28 orders were received for the command to be in readiness to move the next morning with four days' rations and forty rounds of cartridges. On the morning of the 29th the command was up long before daylight and ready to move as soon as light enough to see.

After waiting in camp until 4 o'clock p. m., we moved about two miles in a southwesterly direction, to the vicinity of the "Gurley House," near Fort Davison, where the Second Division was already concentrated. Here we bivouacked for the night.

The Fifth Corps was also massed near the Yellow Tavern, and everything indicated an extensive and important movement to the left.

As afterwards transpired, this movement to the left was in aid of a simultaneous movement, ordered by General Grant, on the north side of the James River.

During the night of the 28th General Ord, with two divisions of the Eighteenth Corps and General Birney, with two divisions of the Tenth Corps, crossed the James near Deep Bottom and on the 29th, wheeling to the left, advanced directly toward Richmond, assaulting and capturing Fort Harrison and the lines right and left.

It was in aid of this movement that two divisions each of the Fifth and Ninth Corps were withdrawn from the lines and held in hand until the morning of the 30th, ready to move as the exigencies of the situation might require.

By 8 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, General Lee had withdrawn sufficient troops from his right so that General Grant felt justified in directing General Meade to proceed with the movement on the left, the object of which was to seize and hold the junction of the roads near Poplar Springs Church and, if possible, to advance from there north and west, and seize the Boydton plank road, upon which General Lee was hauling a large proportion of his supplies.

On the morning of the 30th reveille sounded at 3 o'clock. The regiment was up in column and ready to march at 6 o'clock; but as our division was to be preceded by the Fifth Corps and Potter's division of the Ninth, it was between 10 and 11 o'clock when we crossed the Weldon Railroad south of the Yellow Tavern and north of Fort Dushane, and took the road leading nearly due westward to the junction of the Poplar Springs Church road and the "Squirrel Level road," about two miles west of the Yellow Tavern.

Just as we were leaving the Gurley House we met Colonel William Humphrey, who had that morning been mustered out of the service, and was then starting for

City Point on his way to Michigan. The loss of Colonel Humphrey was quite unexpected to most of the brigade, and it was with great regret that they took leave of this gallant and able officer, who had taken us through the Knoxville campaign and most of the Virginia campaign to that time.

Colonel Humphrey had always shown himself a clear-headed, cool and courageous officer and he possessed the entire confidence of the brigade. He returned at once to civil life, but subsequently received the brevet rank of brigadier general "for gallant service, both as regimental and brigade commander," in accordance with the recommendation of General Parke, made September 15, 1864.

It was a great relief to our disappointment at losing Colonel Humphrey to know that so capable and brave an officer as Brigadier General John F. Hartranft, formerly colonel of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, had been assigned to the temporary command of our brigade.

For the best attainable report of the operations of the brigade on September 30, 1864, and the week following, reference is here made to his report embraced in the appendix, found in Vol. XLII, part 1, Official Records, page 565.

It was just past noon when we finally reached Poplar Springs Church, and continued on as far as the Peeble's farm, about a quarter or third of a mile beyond, where we turned to the north into the open fields south of the Peeble's House.

The Fifth Corps had turned off to the right before reaching the church, and had become hotly engaged with the enemy north and east of the Peeble's House, taking a square redoubt and line of breastworks by a dashing charge in which Colonel Norvel E. Welch, of the Sixteenth Michigan, lost his life.

The brigade formed line of battle, facing the west, along the low ground south and west of the Peeble's House. During the time it remained in this position, Colonel Cutcheon was detached with the Twentieth Michigan and Second Michigan, the latter under Lieutenant Colonel E. J. March, with orders to proceed to the Clements' House, about half a mile to the south and west, where the "Squirrel Level road" crossed the Poplar Springs (or White Oak) road, to hold that junction and scout the roads north and west for the enemy.

The regiment had reached the Clements' House and had formed line, when orders were received from General Hartranft to return to the brigade, which was immediately done. The brigade now moved by the right flank about half a mile until the regiment lay nearly west of the Pegram House, one half mile north of the Peebles' place.

In our front was a dense and almost impenetrable swamp, and by direction of General Hartranft, Colonel Cutcheon now sent Lieutenant Parker with a scouting party to penetrate this swamp and report whether troops could be passed through it. Lieutenant Parker in time reported that troops could pass it, but with difficulty.

While here at the Pegram House we received some sharp artillery fire, and the fighting in front of General Potter, on the right, became more active and vigorous. Potter's division was formed on the right of Willcox, between him and the Fifth Corps.

General Potter now advanced his division into the woods beyond a by-road, passing east and west in front of the residence of Dr. Boisseau, about three-fourths of a mile north of the Pegram House.

The Second Brigade, moving by the right flank, conforming to the advance of Potter's division, until our right had passed beyond the Boisseau House road, when the left of the brigade was thrown forward into line, and formed along a crest about 150 yards beyond the Boisseau House. From this crest we could look across a wide valley and distinctly see the Boydton plank road, on the opposite slope, about three-fourths of a mile distant. At the same time we could see rebel lines of battle advancing in the direction of the woods where Potter's division was, their right overlapping our front.

At this point the firing on the right, both of musketry and artillery, became very heavy, and began to go to our right-rear, and our brigade began to receive a severe fire both from the front and the right flank.

The Second Division had broken in the woods, and let Mahone's (Confederate) division in upon our right and rear. At this time a large part of Curtin's brigade of Potter's division were taken prisoners, but with no great loss in killed and wounded. Curtin's brigade lost 809 and Griffin's brigade 472 "captured or missing." The division lost a great disproportion of officers killed and wounded, the total in the division being 11 officers killed and 17 wounded; enlisted men, 46 killed and 258 wounded.

At this crisis General Hartranft ordered Colonel Cutcheon with the Twentieth and Second Michigan to move to the left, past the head of the swamp, until his right should rest at two log barns, northwest from the Boisseau House and north of the road, which was quickly done. Here the two regiments were formed along the continuation of the crest occupied by the rest of the brigade, with the left refused to the road.

Scarcely had this position been taken when the rest of the brigade line retired under orders of General A. A. Humphrey, chief of staff to General Meade, who represented that general on the field. This left the Twentieth *alone, beyond the swamp*, and unsupported, the Second retiring with the rest of the brigade along the east side of the swamp.

At this moment came orders from the brigade commander for the regiment to withdraw, passing through the swamp if possible. At the same moment, a rebel cavalry regiment came out of their works on our left rear, and made a dash against our left. Just here the regiment met a severe loss in the mortal wounding of Captain Oliver Blood, Company D, and of Adjutant Jacob E. Siebert, both of whom fell into the hands of the enemy, but died the same night. Several men were also killed and wounded, and nineteen caught in the almost impassible jungle of the swamp, were made prisoners. Among the latter were Orderly Sergeant Dan Sheehan, of Company H, who after some months in a rebel prison made his escape through the lines into East Tennessee and was soon after commissioned a first lieutenant.

Some of the regiment, instead of attempting to force their way through the swamp, followed along the west side until they came out on the road near the Clements' House, and joined the regiment the next morning.

After this reverse, a new line was established by the division in front of the Pegram House, McLaughlin's brigade holding the right, the Twentieth being assigned position on the extreme left of the line, where they threw up entrenchments extending to the swamp.

Before daylight of October 1 the regiment was once more ordered to the crossing of the roads at the Clements' House, on the extreme left and rear of the corps.

By morning the regiment had thrown up a good breastwork, but at about 7 o'clock we were again moved back to the flat ground north west of the Peebles' House, where we threw up more breastworks, which we occupied until the morning of October 2. Meanwhile the rain fell in torrents, making our position in the flats a decidedly moist and uncomfortable one.

Sunday morning, October 2, the Ninth Corps again advanced in order of battle to a point near the Boisseau House, where we once more threw up breastworks. The line thus taken was permanently held as our main line on the left, and Forts Fisher and Welch were built upon the prominent points commanding the ground as far as the line of the Boydton plank road.

While we were at work here, at about 3 o'clock p. m., Pierce's brigade of Mott's division, Second Corps, passed along our rear line, and soon after made a charge upon a small rebel redoubt, about 800 yards to our left. This redoubt was beyond the swamp, and from our position we had a perfect view of the movement. The charge failed to reach the rebel line, and was not pushed with much spirit or persistence. But as it was rather in the nature of a reconnaissance, it probably accomplished the object intended.

We now remained in the same location until October 8, furnishing large details daily for work on the forts and for slashing the woods in front.

Fort Cummings was built near the Clements' House, Fort Welch near the site of the Pegram House and Fort Fisher near the site of the Boisseau House. Our camp was midway between the Peebles' House and the site of the Pegram House.

On October 8, which was General Hartranft's last day in command of the Second Brigade, the two brigades went out on a reconnaissance in force to the west of the Clements' House, to feel for the Boydton plank road. We developed the enemy's position and after some skirmishing, we returned to camp after dark, the Twentieth, by order of General Hartranft, covering the withdrawal as rear-guard. In making his official report (which see in appendix), General Hartranft said: "I desire to express my entire satisfaction with the conduct of the regiments of the command and their commanding officers. They behaved nobly on the afternoon of the 30th, especially when the brigade was almost surrounded by the enemy. * * * * * All the regiments displayed a steadiness under trying circumstances which speaks well for their discipline."

As this was the last time that we ever came directly under the command of General Hartranft, it is only due that, in taking leave of him, as brigade commander, a few words should be devoted to him.

General Hartranft entered the service November 16, 1861, as colonel of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania Infantry, and as such he was identified with the history of the Ninth Corps from the beginning.

At the battle of South Mountain, Colonel Hartranft is mentioned for gallant conduct, and at the battle of Antietam he was selected with his regiment to storm the stone bridge in front of Willcox's division, which he did with the greatest bravery, earning the warm praise of General Burnside.

In the Mississippi campaign he served in Ferrero's brigade of Potter's division, and in the East Tennessee campaign he commanded the Second Division with marked ability.

Throughout the Virginia campaign, from the Wilderness to Petersburg, he commanded the First Brigade of Willcox's division, and was always characterized by prompt and intrepid action.

But his greatest and most conspicuous service was near the close of the siege of Petersburg when, on the 25th of March, 1865, he, with his division of new troops, recovered the captured line at Fort Sedman, and on April 2 captured the enemy's main line at Fort Mahone. After the war he was stationed at Washington Barracks in charge of the Lincoln conspirators, and was charged with the execution of those convicted.

In battle, General Hartranft was cool, courageous, prompt and energetic. On his return to civil life, he was repeatedly elected to the office of auditor general of the state of Pennsylvania, and in October, 1872, he was elected governor of that commonwealth.

In 1876 he was prominently mentioned for the nomination for the presidency, and in convention received the support of his state.

He died a few years since, being at the time major general commanding the Pennsylvania National Guard.

On the withdrawal of the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry from the brigade, on October 16, 1864, Colonel B. M. Cutcheon, Twentieth Michigan, was assigned to the command of the Second Brigade, as has been before stated. He had been the senior officer of the regiment from November 16, 1863, and in the actual command, except during the trip from Knoxville to Annapolis, and from May 10, 1864, to July 7, while in hospital with wounds received at Spottsylvania.

On December 18, 1864, he mustered as colonel of the Twenty-seventh Michigan, after having been colonel by commission of the Twentieth, from November 21, 1863. Subsequently, he was by order of the war department, mustered as colonel of the Twentieth, to rank from January 8, 1864. Colonel Cutcheon was the only officer of the Twentieth Michigan who at any time commanded the brigade.

He was succeeded in command of the regiment by Captain Alfred A. Van Cleve, Major C. B. Grant being still absent in Michigan on recruiting service, and Captain Porter, the senior captain, absent from the regiment at the time.

Major Grant returned to the regiment on November 18, and resumed command on the 20th of November. He remained the commanding officer of the regiment until March 11, 1865, having been meanwhile promoted to lieutenant colonel, and commissioned as colonel, December 20, 1864.

With the exception of the movement to Hatcher's Run, October 27 and 28, the regiment remained in camp at Peeble's farm until November 29 following. The location was a favorable one, the enemy was not close at hand, and there

was little firing and few casualties. A large farm, with open fields and without fences, afforded excellent facilities for drills, inspections, reviews, etc.

After Colonel Cutcheon took command of the brigade, company and battalion drills were regularly resumed, and brigade drills held three days in the week, for the first time since Newport News, with a slight exception at Erin Station in February, 1864.

Brigade dress parades were held as often as circumstances were favorable, and thus occupied, the regiment gained rapidly in numbers, health and spirits, and attained an excellence in drill and discipline higher than at any previous period.

On October 18 the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry marched away to City Point to be mounted, and never again rejoined the brigade. The Twenty-fourth was a fine regiment, and Colonel W. C. Newberry was one of the best officers in the brigade—we parted from them with regret. Colonel Newberry, after the close of the war removed to Chicago, and was elected a representative in congress.

On October 26th, orders were received that the brigade should be in readiness to march at three o'clock on the morning of the 27th, with four days rations and 60 rounds of ammunition.

Before the break of day the brigade was in line at, and to the left of, the "Clements' House" (afterward Fort Cummings), and as soon as it was light enough to see, commenced an advance in the direction of Hatcher's Run. In the general movement the Second Corps had the left, the Fifth Corps the center and the Ninth Corps the right. The Fourth Division of the Ninth Corps formed the pivot of the movement on the right, the Second Division remaining in our works.

The Second Brigade led the division, and after manoeuvring through the woods for about two miles, came in contact with the enemy in force on the east side of Hatcher's Run, well protected behind heavy works and slashings.

Considerable skirmishing continued throughout the day, while heavy fighting was going on further to our left, along the Boydton plank road, in front of the Second and Fifth Corps.

The advance of the left was successfully resisted, the Second Corps being badly used.

No attack was made or ordered by our division, but we threw up breastworks and lay upon our arms that night.

On the morning of the 28th, the movement around the enemy's right having failed, our division was ordered to retire to our lines, which we did, arriving the same evening.

The casualties of the entire brigade numbered thirty, only three of which occurred in the Twentieth.

A few of the Second Michigan, including their adjutant, Fred Schneider, having pushed into the slashing in front of the enemy's breastwork too far to withdraw, were captured.*

*The Second Michigan was acting as skirmishers for the brigade, under the command of that gallant officer, Lieut. Col. E. J. March.

For the details of this movement, reference is made to the official brigade reports in the appendix. No report was made by the regimental commander.

The regiment now resumed its old place in the works on the Peeble's farm, and took up its round of duties as before, furnishing daily details for picket and work on fortifications, with squad, company, battalion and brigade drills.

On November 8 a presidential election was held in the regiment, under the soldiers' voting law of Michigan, the vote being taken in the Twentieth by Joseph Warren, of Detroit, and resulted in 153 votes for Abraham Lincoln and 35 votes for George B. McClellan. This would indicate at least 188 voters present, and as a considerable proportion of the regiment were under the voting age, or otherwise disqualified, it would indicate that the strength of the regiment had increased to upward of 200, and probably to more than 225, present for duty.

On November 29 the order came to move, and at 10 a. m. we set out to march to the extreme right of the Army of the Potomac, where we took position for the winter, with our right resting along the Appomattox.

On November 11, the Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry (dismounted) had been assigned to the Second Brigade, by transfer from Hartranft's First Brigade. This regiment had been enlisted and organized as cavalry, but through the exigencies of the campaign, had been equipped and used as infantry. Naturally there was much discontent resulting, which detracted from the spirit and discipline of the regiment.

This battalion of about 600 men had been recruited in the early part of 1864, but was not assigned to the Ninth Corps until June 26. It only remained with the Second Brigade until December 13, when it was ordered to City Point to be mounted.

It joined Sheridan's corps in time to take part in the battle of Five Forks, and was present at Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

Peeble's farm was one of the pleasantest camps the regiment ever had, and it is remembered as a sort of resting place after the bloody, and exhausting summer campaign.

CHAPTER XXV.

SIEGE OF PETERSBURG—BATTERY IX—FORT STEDMAN.

December 1, 1864.

March 31, 1865.

On November 29, 1864, as before stated, the regiment marched with its division from the Peeble's farm, then the extreme left of the army, to the extreme right, resting on the Appomattox River, below the city of Petersburg, where we relieved General Gibbon's division of the Second Corps. The distance marched was nearly ten miles, and the division arrived in rear of its new position, near the Friend House, on the original Confederate outer line, before dark, and during the night the troops of the brigade were conducted to their new stations on the line, as follows:

The Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry (dismounted) to picket the Appomattox River, from Battery V to Broadway Landing, a distance of about three miles; the Forty-sixth New York Veteran Volunteers, in Battery V on the right bank of Harrison's Creek, where it flows into the Appomattox River; the First Michigan Sharpshooters, from the Appomattox to Fort McGilvery, which occupied the first high ground south from the river, being the site of the Page House; the Fiftieth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, in Fort McGilvery, a large, square enclosed work; the Sixtieth Ohio, from Fort McGilvery to Battery IX; the Twentieth Michigan in Battery IX, an enclosed work about 100 feet square on the left of the City Point Railroad; the Second Michigan Veteran Volunteers, on the left of Battery IX, extending toward Fort Stedman (once the site of the Hare House).

Division headquarters were established at the Friend House (also called the Gibbon House), and brigade headquarters in a ravine in rear of Fort McGilvery, and on the north side of the road from Petersburg to City Point. These relative positions were maintained until the 1st of March, 1865.

On December 13, 1864, the Thirteenth Ohio was ordered to City Point to be mounted, and the Forty-sixth New York then performed the duty of picketing the Appomattox below Battery V.

On December 18 Colonel Cutcheon mustered into the United States service as colonel of the Twenty-seventh Michigan, but continued without intermission in command of the Second Brigade. This change was made at the express and urgent desire of General Willcox, who apprehended the return of absent officers, senior to Colonel Cutcheon, in whose hands he did not wish to entrust the brigade.

It was at General Willcox's urgent request that Governor Blair promptly issued the commission, which was accepted by Colonel Cutcheon with the ex-

press understanding that when the first movement from the trenches should be made, the Twenty-seventh, which had gained a first class reputation as a fighting regiment, should be transferred to the Second Brigade, thereby giving it four Michigan regiments.

That was what General Willcox desired, but that time never came, for with the first movement Petersburg fell, and the fighting of the division was over.

The main lines were separated by only a few hundred yards, and firing was almost constant. Our line was, for the most part, well placed, but there were three rebel batteries situated on the north side of the Appomattox and opposite our right flank, which were extremely annoying. These were the Chesterfield battery, armed with heavy, English rifled guns, and the two mortar batteries, located on the flats opposite Fort McGilvery. These were commonly known as the "Gooseneck" battery, and the "Scab" battery. These mortar batteries had the ranges of our lines and of brigade headquarters, and frequently gave us brilliant exhibitions of their fireworks. The Chesterfield battery enfiladed our line from the river bank to Battery X, and compelled us to erect very heavy traverses and to construct bomb-proofs, but in spite of all these protections, casualties were of frequent occurrence.

During the month of December, 1864, nothing out of the usual course of events occurred. The weather was severe, and the troops suffered for want of fuel. We were cheered from time to time by the news of victories in other departments, and especially that of Thomas at Nashville, Tennessee.

January, 1865, was an entirely uneventful period. The usual artillery duels and picket firing continued, and desertions from the enemy became frequent.

On February 15, Captain Holland F. Robinson, of the Twentieth Michigan, serving as engineer officer on the staff of Colonel Cutcheon, commanding the brigade, was instantly killed by a sharpshooter, while riding the lines between Forts Stedman and Haskell. His remains were sent to Michigan in charge of Sergeant Major H. H. Stowell, of the Twentieth. A severe cannonade followed the killing of Captain Robinson, in which a number of casualties occurred.

On February 22, a very heavy artillery duel occurred, occasioned by Battery V shelling a small train of cars. The result was three men killed and three others severely wounded in the brigade. This induced Colonel Cutcheon to enter a very vigorous and earnest protest at corps headquarters against this needless sacrifice (see appendix).

On March 6 the brigade changed hands for the last time, Colonel Cutcheon having mustered out of the service, and Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Ely, of the Eighth Michigan Infantry, being assigned to the command. There was no change in the regiments of the command.

The month of March was much like the three preceding months until about the 24th, when there were signs of unusual activity on the enemy's lines.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of March 25, while it was still quite dark, General Gordon's (Confederate) corps made an attack upon the front of the Third Brigade, Brigadier General N. B. McLaughlin, commanding, and took Fort Stedman with a rush, capturing a large part of the garrison. Through the breach so made in our line, the rebel forces then commenced to pour, and turning to the

left, began to sweep down the line along the old road which ran in rear of and nearly parallel with our works, until they struck the left of the second Brigade, which was held by the Second Michigan.

Here a hand-to-hand conflict ensued for the possession of the left traverses, and a part of the Second Regiment, driven from their possession by the movement down the City Point road in their rear, took refuge in Battery IX, with the Twentieth. Captain Albert A. Day was in command of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Grant being absent on leave, on account of the illness of his wife. Captain Day, finding the fort assailed from the rear, moved a part of the regiment to that side of the fort, and the artillery opened upon the masses of the enemy who had broken through our lines on the Hare House Hill.

This was all before daylight. By daylight the enemy had possession of the main line from Fort Haskell on the left to the Second Michigan, just outside of Battery IX, on the right, a distance of fully three-fourths of a mile.

Our former brigade commander, General John F. Hartranft, was then in command of the Third Division, consisting of six new Pennsylvania regiments, the Two Hundredth, Two Hundred and Fifth, Two Hundred and Seventh, Two Hundred and Eighth, Two Hundred and Ninth and Two Hundred and Eleventh, which had never before been in action. This division, organized into two brigades, was extended along the Military Railroad line from the Dunn House battery on the right to Fort Howard on the left. General Hartranft's headquarters were at the Avery House. With all possible dispatch, General Hartranft brought forward his division, and they were formed on the ridges east of Harrison Creek, to hold in check a further advance of the enemy, which he succeeded in doing. In his official report, General Hartranft says:

"Here (at the old line of works near the Dunn House battery), the Two Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers formed a connection on the right of the Two Hundredth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and with the aid of the fire from Battery IX, which had opened, and the Twentieth Michigan which garrisoned this battery, and the Second and Seventeenth Michigan of the First Division, which covered the ground between the right of the Two Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers and Battery IX, I had a strong line, which I determined could be held, and check and further advance in this direction."

Battery IX was the point of support where the new line under Hartranft joined the permanent main line, and on the steadiness and soldierly qualities of this regiment, the Twentieth Michigan, depended much of the success of the subsequent operations.

Captain A. A. Day, commanding the Twentieth, in his official report (March 27, 1865), says: "Meantime, it having grown sufficiently light to disclose the enemy in heavy mass on the slope of the hill to the right of Fort Stedman, and also in the road in rear of the same, I immediately caused the men, about 150 in number, to open a rapid musketry fire upon those of their troops who occupied these positions. I have reason to believe that this fire was very effective, being at easy long range, well directed, and its object being a body of men in heavy mass, occupying a side hill the face of which was presented to this battery. This firing was continued throughout the engagement. At 7:30 a. m.,

the enemy being completely broken, and retreating rapidly in disorder, I threw a part of my regiment into the skirmish line, on the left of this battery (IX), in order to check them as they attempted to cross the main line on their retreat. Three hundred and fifteen men and their officers, with a brass band, were thus captured and forwarded to brigade headquarters under guard."

It was at this time, 7:30, that General Hartranft charged with his division, and succeeded in regaining the entire line. Nineteen hundred and forty-nine prisoners, including seventy-one commissioned officers were taken in our works, or in attempting to regain their own lines. Nine battle flags and many hundreds of small arms were among the trophies. A thousand and five prisoners fell into the hands of Willcox's division. It was a great satisfaction to the regiment that in their last actual battle, they were able to render so efficient and important aid in gaining a most brilliant victory. It compensated, in some degree, for the mortification of the disaster at the Crater on the 30th of July, 1864.

For his coolness and good conduct on this occasion, Captain A. A. Day, commanding the regiment, received the brevet of major of United States volunteers.

Major Frank Porter, who had received a leave of absence the day previous, was present during the battle and rendered efficient aid in the defense of the fort, though not in command.

The loss of the regiment was small, none being killed and only nine wounded, mostly slightly. The loss of the brigade was four killed, twenty-six wounded and nineteen captured; total, forty-nine.

In McLaughlin's brigade seventeen officers and four hundred and thirteen men were swept off and captured.

At one time during the battle, under the impression that the rebels had captured Battery IX, our guns on the ridge in the rear commenced throwing shells into the fort. Then our colors were planted on the parapet, and the artillerymen seeing that our "flag was still there," immediately ceased firing on their friends and turned their guns on the enemy.

By direction of Colonel Ely some of the guns in Fort McGilvery were run out to the rear of the fort and did most effective work by enfilading the rebel line in the road along Harrison Creek.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ASSAULT ON PETERSBURG—OCCUPATION OF THE CITY—AFTER THE SURRENDER—MUSTER OUT—RETURN—THE END.

March 26, 1865.

May 30, 1865.

The end was now not far away, and a feeling of confidence and relief prevailed throughout the army. Everything betokened an early ending of the war.

As early as March 14 orders had been issued from army headquarters to all corps commanders to prepare for a general movement to commence on March 29, when it was hoped that the weather and the roads would be sufficiently settled and the cavalry in readiness to inaugurate the final campaign.

The cavalry corps, under General Sheridan, reached Petersburg from the Shenandoah Valley on March 27 and, after only one day's rest, started out on that final and most extraordinary campaign of twelve days, which really ended the war.

Crossing the Weldon Railroad at Ream's Station—the scene of Hancock's most unfortunate battle of August 25—Sheridan reached Dinwiddie Court House that night. During the 30th the cavalry advanced to the vicinity of Five Forks.

On the 31st was fought the battle of Dinwiddie Court House, and on April 1, the Battle of Five Forks, in which an entire division of the enemy was made prisoners. At this time the whole of the Fifth Corps and most of the Second had been withdrawn from the Petersburg lines and sent around the left in hopes of preventing the escape of Lee's army from Petersburg. The Ninth Corps was holding the whole line, from the Appomattox on the right to Weldon Railroad on the left, a distance of fully six miles.

On the evening of April 1, while the battle of Five Forks was still in progress, General John G. Parke, commanding the Ninth Corps, received orders to assault the enemy's line at 4 o'clock on the morning of April 2. He determined to make the assault on the line of the Jerusalem plank road, and for that purpose concentrated the whole of Potter's and Hartranft's divisions at that point, except the garrisons of the forts, together with Harriman's brigade of Willcox's division.

In aid of this assault, and to prevent the enemy from concentrating at that point, General Willcox was ordered to demonstrate heavily on his right, at the same hour. Accordingly, orders were communicated to Colonel Ely, commanding the Second Brigade, to be ready at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of April to make the best demonstration possible on the enemy's lines.

Colonel Ely caused the brigade to be formed in rear of the skirmish pits in two columns, the First Sharpshooters, supported by the Forty-sixth New York,

on the right, in front of the Sharpshooters line, and the Second Michigan, supported by the Twentieth Michigan, on the left, in front of Battery IX.

The Second Michigan made no charge and consequently the Twentieth was not called upon to support them.

On the right, however, the First Sharpshooters made more of a demonstration than was intended, and actually carried a portion of the enemy's line next to the Appomattox River, but not being supported, were soon forced to retire again to their own works, with a loss of forty-one killed, wounded and missing.

After daylight, the Twentieth was stationed in front of Fort McGilvery, and a brisk skirmish was kept up, but no charge was made, and at about 9 o'clock, the regiment was withdrawn to Battery IX, the assault on Fort Mahone having been successfully carried out.

During the night of the 2d the men were standing under arms, wearied by days and nights of incessant watching; there were fires burning and explosions in the city; the low, distant rumbling of moving artillery and wagon trains was distinctly heard; signal rockets from the enemy's lines exploded high in the air; the breastworks were mounted by a soldier, bolder than the rest, followed by another and another, until the earthworks were lined with men standing with bated breath, every nerve strained to its utmost tension, conscious of some great impending event—a rush to death against the forts and breastworks in our front, or a quick march to a bloodless victory—which? No one knew.

Then came the swift uprising of a great mass of flame and smoke from the low ground across the river away in the distance, followed by a dull roar as of distant thunder, betokening the destruction of "Old Gooseneck," which had so often tumbled its monster shells into our lines, and telling us plainer than words that the city was being evacuated, the "rebels were on the run," the object for which we had battled for four long years was within our grasp, that *victory* was ours.

At 3:10 a. m. the advance commenced, the First Sharpshooters leading, the Second supporting and the Twentieth being the third in the column. Colonel Ely did not personally accompany the advance, but Brevet Major C. A. Lounsberry, Twentieth Michigan, acting assistant adjutant general of the brigade, conducted the advance, forming the regiments and conducting them forward. The works were found deserted, except for a few stragglers, and the command advanced as rapidly as the darkness and the ground would permit, into the city of Petersburg, along the line of the City Point road.

They met with no opposition in entering the town, and at 4:28 a. m., on the morning of April 3, 1865, the long-sought consummation was achieved, and the flag of the First Michigan Sharpshooters was hoisted on the Court House, and the colors of the Second Michigan on the Custom House, a few minutes later.

The colors of the Twentieth Michigan were raised upon the Court House soon after the Sharpshooters, the honor of raising the first flag being accorded to the latter in consideration of their gallant charge and heavy loss in men on the morning of April 2. Immediately after the raising of the flags, the mayor and a committee of citizens tendered to Major Lounsberry, Twentieth Michigan, as representing the brigade commander, a formal surrender of the city of

Petersburg, which was accepted, and the brigade at once placed on provost guard duty for the preservation of order. As the surrender is a very brief document, it is here inserted, as a matter of interest to every member of the Twentieth Michigan:

Lieutenant General U. S. Grant,
Commanding Armies of the U. S. or
Major General Commanding U. S. Forces.

Petersburg, April 3, 1865.

General—The city of Petersburg having been evacuated by the Confederate troops, we, a committee authorized by the common council, do hereby surrender the city to the U. S. forces, with a request for the protection of the persons and property of its inhabitants.

We are, respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. M. TOWNS, Mayor.

D'ARCY PAUL.

CHAS. F. COLLIER.

The jail adjacent to the Court House was found full of prisoners. In the absence of the jailor, the Twentieth boys broke the locks on the doors and let out all the inmates, mostly negroes, regardless of the crime for which they were incarcerated.

The brigade remained on provost duty in the city of Petersburg until the morning of April 5, when they moved out of the city along the Cox road to Sutherland Station, ten miles southwest of Petersburg, on the South Side Railroad. Here the brigade remained doing duty until the day of Lee's surrender, April 9, when it moved forward to Ford's Station, and encamped on Ford's farm.

On April 19 the command received orders to march the next morning, April 20, for City Point, en route for Washington. City Point was reached on the 22d, and on the 23d the brigade disembarked from the transports at Alexandria, and encamped about two miles from the city, near Fort Lyon; so that after more than two and a half years, the regiment came back to "Cow Hollow," the starting point where it camped the day after its arrival in Washington, September 4, 1862. It remained here until April 28, when it marched to the north side of the Potomac, crossing the river on Long Bridge and, passing through the cities of Washington and Georgetown, encamped about four miles from the capital, beyond the village of Tenallytown, in the District of Columbia, where it remained until mustered out, May 30, 1865.

Immediately afterward, on June 1, it embarked by railroad for Michigan, and reached Jackson on June 4, just two years nine months and four days from the day it left there, September 1, 1862. On June 9 it was paid off and disbanded.

On the 23d day of May, 1865, the regiment participated in the "Grand Review" in the city of Washington, by the president, the cabinet and the general of the army. Upon this occasion the regiment marched under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lounsberry, he having been mustered into the United States service as such, April 29, 1865.

Before Lieutenant Colonel Grant's leave of absence expired, General Lee had surrendered, and he thereupon telegraphed his resignation to the secretary of war, and it was accepted.

The organization of the regiment at its muster out on May 30, 1865, as appears from the report of the adjutant general of the state of Michigan for 1865-6, showing rank by commission from the state, was as follows:

Colonel Clement A. Lounsberry, mustered out with regiment.
Lieutenant Colonel Francis Porter, mustered out with regiment.
Major Edwin M. Adams, mustered out with regiment.
Surgeon Orville P. Chubb, mustered out with regiment.
Assistant Surgeon Henry B. Baker, mustered out with regiment.
Adjutant George B. Arnold, mustered out as sergeant major, May 30, 1865.
Quartermaster Clark S. Wortley, mustered out with regiment.

Captains.

Captain N. Augustus Parker, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Martin C. Dawes, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Alexander Bush, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Henry B. Carpenter, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Albert A. Day, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Henry H. Stowell, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Prescott M. Skinner, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Adrian C. White, mustered out May 30, with regiment.
Captain Horace V. Knight, mustered out May 30, with regiment.

First Lieutenants.

First Lieutenant Thomas B. Morehouse, mustered out May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant Charles W. Maynard, mustered out May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant Edwin Hudson, mustered out May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant George M. Norton, mustered out May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant Albert B. Taylor, mustered out May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant John P. Baker, mustered out May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant Daniel Sheehan, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant Homer Spencer, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
First Lieutenant Reuben E. Manning, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.

Second Lieutenants.

Second Lieutenant James D. Turnbull, mustered out, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Stephen O. Bryant, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Frank A. Fassett, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Leonard C. Rice, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Walton H. Chadwick, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant John E. Irwin, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.

Second Lieutenant David S. Monroe, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Andrew Morton, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant John Thomas, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Merton A. Bell, mustered out as sergeant, May 30, 1865.

Resigned.

Colonel Claudius B. Grant—March 11, 1865.
Chaplain Joseph Jones—May 17, 1865.
Captain Alfred A. Van Cleve—January 12, 1865.
Captain Charles C. Dodge—April 18, 1865.
First Lieutenant J. R. Mowry—May 6, 1865.

As given in the United States Volunteer Army Register, published by the **government** after the close of the war (part 5, page 327), the organization at muster out was as follows, showing the status in the service of the United States:

Lieutenant Colonel Clement A. Lounsberry, April 29, 1865; brevet major, December 2, 1864.

Major.

Frank Porter, January 21, 1865.

Captains.

Albert A. Day, September 26, 1864; brevet major, March 25, 1865.
Henry B. Carpenter, November 30, 1864.
N. Augustus Parker, February 4, 1865.
Edwin M. Adams, February 4, 1865.
Martin C. Dawes, February 13, 1865.
Henry H. Stowell, February 13, 1865.
Horace V. Knight, May 7, 1865.

First Lieutenants.

James R. Mowry, April 25, 1863.
Clark S. Wortley, R. Q. M., April 9, 1864.
Prescott M. Skinner, June 30, 1864.
Adrian C. White, adjutant, November 16, 1864.
Thomas B. Morehouse, December 5, 1864.
Alexander Bush, January 11, 1865.
Edwin Hudson, February 4, 1865.
George W. Norton, February 4, 1865.
Charles W. Maynard, February 13, 1865.
Albert B. Taylor, February 13, 1865.
John P. Baker, February 13, 1865.

Second Lieutenants.

James D. Turnbull, surgeon, October 25, 1864.

Orville B. Chubb, assistant surgeon, August 9, 1864.

Henry B. Baker, August 19, 1864.

NOTE.—Many of the above dates are different from those given in "Michigan in the War."

An examination of the foregoing list of officers will disclose the fact that the only commissioned officer of the regiment at the muster out, who was mustered in with the regiment as a commissioned officer, was Lieutenant Colonel Francis Porter, who had been an original lieutenant of Company E, from Parma.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMMANDERS AND COMRADES.

May 30, 1865.

General O. B. Willcox—His farewell to the Twentieth and Seventeenth Michigan—*Our comrades of the other Michigan regiments of WILLCOX'S DIVISION*—REGIMENTAL LOSSES.

On May 30, 1865—the same day that the Twentieth was formally mustered out of the United States service—General O. B. Willcox issued a farewell order to the Seventeenth and Twentieth Michigan, a copy of which will be found in the appendix, in which he said: “The term of service of the Twentieth and Seventeenth Michigan Volunteer Regiments * * * expiring before the 1st of October next, they will be mustered out and proceed to their respective rendezvous.

“The *Seventeenth and Twentieth Michigan* have served nearly three years under their present division commander.

“It is with pride and gratitude that he refers to their distinguished gallantry on many a hard-fought field, from South Mountain to Petersburg. * * * May those who remain of these distinguished regiments live long to enjoy the reward of well doing and lofty patriotism in the happiness of honorable homes and the admiration of their countrymen.”

With such words did our oldest and most beloved commander part from us.

Other commanders came to us for a short periods—as Burns, Welsh and Ferrero, but ours was always “WILLCOX'S DIVISION.”

He was himself a Michigan man, having gone out, May 1, 1861, as the first Michigan colonel of the First Michigan Regiment. He was wounded and made a prisoner while commanding a brigade at the first battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861. After almost thirteen months in various rebel prisons, he was exchanged August 17, 1862. He was immediately promoted to be brigadier general of U. S. volunteers, to rank as such from July 21, 1861; was made a major general by brevet August 1, 1864, and commanded the First Division (formerly Third) from the time we left Annapolis until after the close of hostilities. After the war he commanded the military district of Virginia, and was mustered out of the volunteer service January 15, 1866.

Immediately after his appointment as brigadier general of volunteers, August, 1862, he was assigned to the command of the First Division of the Ninth Corps, which he commanded with distinguished success in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. Then, for a time, he commanded the Ninth Corps while

General Burnside was in command of the Army of the Potomac; then he came back again to his old division.

When the corps went to Kentucky, he was again assigned to the command, with headquarters at Lexington, until the corps was about to go to Mississippi, when General Willcox was placed in command of the military district of Indiana, with headquarters at Indianapolis. While we were absent in Mississippi, General Willcox was engaged in the pursuit and destruction of the raiding column of General John H. Morgan, and in raising new regiments for the East Tennessee campaign.

He did not go forward to East Tennessee with the division, but followed soon after with a provisional brigade of new regiments, with which he reported to General Burnside at Cumberland Gap on October 5, 1863, and with which he reached Blue Springs on October 10. He held Cumberland Gap and the upper part of the valley during the Knoxville campaign, and rejoined the corps about the time it left Blain's Cross Roads, January, 1864, and thenceforward commanded our division until it was disbanded.

General Willcox was a thoroughly reliable and patriotic officer, always prompt and energetic in carrying out orders, and on occasion, as at Ny River, quick to take advantage of an opportunity.

His relations with his brigade and regimental officers were always cordial and pleasant.

General Willcox re-entered the service in the regular army, July, 1866, and after a long and most honorable career, for the past fifteen years has been on the retired list, and residing in honorable retirement in the city of Washington.

Now in his eightieth year, he remembers with undiminished affection the old division, and the comrades who served with him or under his command.

He is the only man living who commanded the Ninth Corps or the Willcox division, as General Cutcheon is the only survivor of those who commanded the old brigade.*

General Willcox had in his division *six Michigan regiments*—the Second, Eighth, Seventeenth, Twentieth and Twenty-seventh Infantry, and the First Michigan Sharpshooters.

He was undoubtedly strongly attached to every one of them; but if any could be named to which he seemed more attached than others, we think it would be the Second, Seventeenth and Twentieth.

Perhaps because these regiments were brigaded together so long, and their consequent strong attachment for each other, and perhaps because during the Knoxville campaign and the following winter, and almost throughout the entire campaign of 1864, they were under a Michigan brigade commander, or for whatever reason, these three seem naturally to form a group by themselves. It may be that we are not warranted in this inference, and perhaps the thought was more in our mind than in his.

But if any one regiment was a prime favorite it was probably the *Seventeenth*.

*As appears from the foregoing narrative, Lieut. Colonel W. C. Newberry, of the 24th New York Cavalry, was in command from Oct. 9th to Oct. 16, 1864; and Lieut. Colonel E. J. March, of the Second Michigan, was in command while Colonel Cutcheon was on a twenty-day leave in January and February, 1865.

That regiment came to him just as he took command of the division, and it immediately afterward covered itself with glory at South Mountain and won a lasting place in history. The lustre of their achievement was reflected upon their commander, and from that day he held them in high esteem. After their disaster at Spottsylvania, May 12, 1864, he took the remnant of the regiment to his headquarters as acting engineers, and retained them there until the end of hostilities.

The *Second Michigan* regiment went to the front at about the same time as his own, the First, was at the battle of Bull Run, and had made a most honorable record all the way from Blackburn's Ford to the assault on Petersburg. With such distinguished officers as Richardson, Poe and Humphrey, it could not well be otherwise than a favorite. It made an especially brilliant record at Jackson, Mississippi, at Knoxville, Tennessee, and at Spottsylvania, Virginia. It would be natural that its remarkable exploit in saving Wright's battery at Spottsylvania, May 12, 1864, and thus protecting the left of his division, should give the regiment a very warm place in his heart.

Any commander becomes attached to an organization which he finds he can *always* depend upon.

The *Twentieth* was under the command of General Willcox from the day it took the field almost continuously to the end of the service.

The regiment was always characterized by great steadiness. It usually did the thing it was set to do, and it never left its place until it was ordered to go. In Kentucky, at the Cumberland, in Mississippi, at Campbell's Station and at Knoxville, at Ny River and Spottsylvania, at North Anna and Bethesda Church, at Petersburg on the 18th of June and at the Crater on July 30, at Poplar Springs Church and at Battery Nine the regiment acquitted itself to the entire approval of the division commander.

The *Eighth Michigan* Infantry had a career not one whit less distinguished than the other Michigan regiments of the division. Its most notable feat of arms was the assault on the rebel fort at Secessionville, James Island, S. C., June 16, 1862, where it made a most daring and dashing charge, and gained the parapet of the fort, but was obliged to relinquish it, with a loss of 48 killed, 120 wounded and 9 missing; a total of 177 out of 25 officers and 509 men who went into the action.

In the Wilderness the regiment, then in command of Colonel Frank Graves, and serving in the brigade of General Hartranft, lost 11 killed, 80 wounded and 14 missing; a total of 105 out of about 300 engaged. Of the wounded, 15 died of their wounds. The regiment again suffered severely at Spottsylvania, May 12; at Bethesda Church, June 3, and in the assault on Petersburg, June 17 and 18. At the Wilderness Colonel Frank Graves was killed inside the enemy's breastworks; at Bethesda Church Major W. E. Lewis fell, mortally wounded, and on the Weldon Railroad, August 19, 1864, Major Horatio Belcher fell, pierced with three of the enemy's bullets, while heroically leading his regiment against the foe in the woods near Globe Tavern.

The Eighth lost during its service in killed and wounded, 783 in a total

enrollment of 1,770. The killed and died of wounds numbered 225, or 15.5 per cent.

The *Sharpshooters* were with the division during but one campaign. This was a new regiment. Before its organization had been completed it took part in chasing John Morgan's raiders out of the state of Indiana. Then it guarded rebel prisoners at Camp Douglas, Chicago, until March, 1864, and during that month was attached to Willcox's division, at Annapolis, Maryland.

It participated in the battle of the Wilderness, May 6, losing nine killed or mortally wounded. At Ny River, May 9, it met a temporary reverse, but on the 12th it bore itself most gallantly, Major John Piper being killed and Colonel De Land wounded. The total loss on that bloody day was 34 killed, 117 wounded and three missing. Sharing with its division in the affairs at North Anna and Bethesda Church, it met its next great loss in the charge near the Taylor house, in front of Petersburg, Virginia, June 17, 1864.

Here the regiment made a desperate charge and took the enemy's breastworks with a large number of prisoners, but the enemy returning in greatly superior numbers, the regiment was forced back, leaving Major Levant C. Rhines and 36 men killed or mortally wounded, and 81, including Adjutant Buckbee, prisoners in the hands of the Confederates.

The regiment participated in all the remaining operations of its division, around Petersburg, until on April 2, 1865, it made a most dashing charge upon the enemy's works next the Appomattox, losing 41 killed and wounded.

On the next morning, April 3, it led the advance of the brigade into the city of Petersburg, and as elsewhere stated, was honored by being first to raise its flag upon the Court House. In this campaign the Sharpshooters proved themselves worthy associates of the older regiments of the brigade and division.

During their service the regiment lost 137 killed, out of an enrollment of 1,101; total killed and wounded, 491.

The *Twenty-seventh Michigan* was a younger regiment than the Second, Eighth, Seventeenth and Twentieth. It left the state in April, 1863, and was attached to the Willcox division in the following June, as an eight-company regiment.

It shared in the East Tennessee campaign, and at Blue Springs, Huff's Ferry, Campbell's Station and at Knoxville, behaved with a steadiness and valor worthy of a veteran regiment.

Having been filled up to a full ten-company regiment during the winter of 1863-64, it entered the Wilderness campaign under command of Major Moody, as a part of Hartranft's brigade.

Major Moody was a most intrepid officer and the Twenty-seventh was never kept out of a hard place by him. During the month of May, 1864, its casualties were 47 killed, 230 wounded and 16 missing. During June there were 21 killed, 149 wounded and 23 missing; total of two months, 68 killed, 379 wounded, 39 missing; aggregate 486.

During these two months the regiment was heavily engaged in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, May 12, at North Anna, May 24 and 25, at Bethesda Church, June 3, where the gallant Major Moody fell, mortally wounded.

At Petersburg on the 17th and 18th of June, the regiment was engaged in the assault on the enemy's works, Colonel Fox being wounded on the 17th. He had joined the command on May 17, while still before Spottsylvania. He never again returned to active duty with the regiment.

The Twenty-seventh had its full share in the bloody day at the Crater, and later at the Weldon Railroad and at Peeble's Farm. Its career was fitly crowned by the charge on Fort Mahone, on the Jerusalem plank road, on the morning of April 2, 1865, where the regiment, although placed in reserve, charged most gallantly under command of Colonel Charles Waite, and efficiently assisted in the capture of that work.

For their share in this assault Colonel Waite was made a brevet brigadier general, while Captains Norton, Hadwick and Davison, were each honored with brevets as major. The loss of the regiment in this assault was fortunately not large.

Each of these six Michigan regiments of the Willcox division are placed by Colonel Fox in his work on "Regimental Losses of the Civil War," among the "Three Hundred Fighting Regiments" of the Civil War.

The loss of the Twenty-Seventh in its two years' service, is placed at 10 officers and 215 men killed or died of wounds; total killed and wounded, 805; died of disease, 207; out of a total enrollment of 1,485.

The *Twentieth Regiment* had during its service a total enrollment of only 1,114. It lost in killed 124, or 11.1 per cent; killed and wounded, 406; died of disease, 173.

Its loss in officers was especially severe. During the Wilderness campaign it lost killed in battle, the major commanding, George C. Barnes; its adjutant, Jacob E. Siebert; four captains, McCollum, Carpenter, Dewey and Blood, and four lieutenants, Ainsworth, Barney, Gould and Hicks, and very few of the remaining officers escaped wounds.

The *Seventeenth Michigan* suffered its greatest losses in four battles: South Mountain, September 14, 1862; Antietam, September 17, 1862; Campbell's Station, November 16, 1863, and Spottsylvania, Virginia, May 12, 1864. In these four actions it suffered a loss in killed and died of wounds of 115. Its total loss in killed was 135, or 11.8 per cent in an enrollment of 1,137.

The Second Michigan had a long and brilliant record. In three years it suffered a loss in killed of 225; total killed and wounded, 806; total enrollment, 1,725; per cent of killed, 13.

Its heaviest losses were at Williamsburg and Fair Oaks, Virginia, Jackson, Mississippi, Knoxville, Tennessee, and assault on Petersburg, June 17 and 18. In the latter attack it suffered a loss in the two days of 65 killed and died of wounds.

Of the *eleven* Michigan infantry regiments placed by Fox among the "Three Hundred Fighting Regiments of the Civil War," six belonged to the Willcox division.

Such were our heroic companions in arms and the sharers of our service. We learned to honor and trust and love them all, but from being so long in the same brigade, and from standing so often in the same battle line, the Second

and Seventeenth seemed a little more like brothers than the rest. They were with us at Fredericksburg, in the Kentucky and Mississippi campaigns, and in the East Tennessee campaign. They stood on our right and left at Campbell's Station, they were by our side at Knoxville, they came to our rescue at Ny River and Spottsylvania, and marched with us to the end of our campaigning. But we are proud of all the Michigan regiments of the "Old Willcox Division." Though almost four decades have passed since we mustered out, still the bonds of our common service and of mutual perils and losses seem as strong and firm as ever.

But they will march together no more. Most of them have already pitched their tents "on Fame's eternal camping ground." And here this story must end.

After two years and three-quarters of constant and severe campaigning in the states of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi, in Kentucky a second time, in Tennessee, and then once more in Virginia, through the arduous and bloody campaign from Wilderness to Battery Nine, and after having traveled in our campaigns upward of seven thousand miles, the Twentieth Michigan, or what was left of it, disbanded and separated to their homes, grateful to be once more with friends and relatives and loved ones, and profoundly thankful that they had been permitted to bear an honorable part in the great struggle that "government of the people, for the people and by the people" might not perish from the earth. That they and their friends, their children and their posterity, may have a connected narrative of their marches, sieges, battles, adventures by flood and field, as well as their sacrifices in a great cause, this *STORY OF THE TWENTIETH MICHIGAN* has been written, with love and pride for the "Old Regiment."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARMY, CORPS, DIVISION, AND BRIGADE ORGANIZATIONS.

1862.

1865.

From the foregoing chapters and the following appendix, it appears that the Twentieth Michigan was connected with other and larger organizations as shown below :

I. ARMIES.

1. From August 19, 1862, to September 6, 1862, an independent regiment.
2. September 6, 1862, assigned to the *Army of the Potomac*, with the First Division of the Ninth Corps.
3. February 14, 1863, transferred to the *Army of Virginia*, under General John A. Dix, at Newport News.
4. March 25, 1863, attached to the *Army of the Ohio*, headquarters at Cincinnati.
5. June 4, 1863, ordered to the *Army of the Tennessee*, at Vicksburg and operated therewith until August 3, 1863.
6. August 12, returned to the *Army of the Ohio* and continued therewith until April 7, 1864.
7. April 23, 1864, set out from Annapolis to join the *Army of the Potomac*. May 5, formed junction with the *Army of the Potomac*. May 24, consolidated with the *Army of the Potomac* and remained connected therewith until the end of its service.

II. CORPS.

The regiment was attached to the NINTH ARMY CORPS from the beginning to the end of its service. The Ninth Corps was commanded by General A. E. Burnside, until he took command of the Army of the Potomac, then by General O. B. Willcox, until General Burnside was superseded; April 4 to June 4, 1863, by General Willcox; during the Mississippi campaign by Major General John G. Parke; during the campaign in East Tennessee by Brigadier General Robert B. Potter; April 7, 1864, to August 7, 1864, by Major General Burnside; August 8, 1864, to end of war, by Major General John G. Parke.

III. DIVISIONS.

September 6, 1862, the regiment was attached to the First Division, but did not actually join until September 23, 1862. It continued attached to the First

Division until April, 1864, when the designation of the division was changed to the Third Division, and so continued until September 13, 1864, when the designation was once more changed to the First Division, and so continued until the regiment was mustered out and disbanded.

During this time, the division was under the following named commanders:

- (a) Brigadier General O. B. Willcox, September 7, 1862, to November 2, 1862.
- (b) Brigadier General W. W. Burns, November 2, 1862, to January 16, 1863.
- (c) Brigadier General O. B. Willcox, from January 16, 1863, to June 3, 1863.
- (d) Brigadier General Thomas Welch, June 4 to August 3, 1863, when the division left Mississippi. General Welch died at Cairo soon after, before rejoining the command.
- (e) Brigadier General Edward Ferrero, from August 23, 1863, to January 16, 1864.
- (f) Brigadier General O. B. Willcox commanded the First Division (in East Tennessee) from January, 1864, until it was reorganized as Third Division, at Annapolis, Maryland, April, 1864. He then commanded the same division until the number was changed to the First, on September 13, and then commanded the division as the First until it was finally disbanded.

IV. BRIGADES.

- (a) When we joined we were assigned to the First Brigade of the First Division, at Antietam Creek, September 23, 1862. The brigade was commanded by Colonel Benjamin C. Christ, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, and consisted of:
 - Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, Captain Carrahar.
 - Seventeenth Michigan, Colonel Withington.
 - Seventy-ninth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Morrison.
 - Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Major Overton.
 - Twentieth Michigan, Colonel Williams.
- (b) October 29, Colonel William M. Fenton took command and continued until November 15, when the Second Michigan was transferred to the brigade, and Colonel, afterward General, O. M. Poe took command.
- (c) General Poe continued in command until (about) March 3, 1863, but was absent on leave for a time, during which Colonel William M. Fenton resumed command.
- (d) During the Kentucky campaign, March 26 to June 4, the brigade was under the command of Colonel David Morrison, Seventy-ninth New York, and consisted of the following regiments:
 - Seventy-ninth New York.
 - Eighth Michigan, Colonel Graves.
 - Second Michigan, Colonel Humphrey.
 - Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Smith.
- (e) During the Mississippi campaign, our brigade was the Third of the First Division, Colonel Daniel Leasure, One Hundredth Pennsylvania, commanding, and consisted of the following:

One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Dawson.
 Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel David Morrison.
 Second Michigan, Colonel William Humphrey.
 Eighth Michigan, Colonel Frank Graves.
 Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Smith.

- (f) During the East Tennessee campaign, the Seventy-ninth New York and Eighth Michigan were transferred to the First Brigade, Colonel Morrison commanding, and the Third Brigade consisted of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Dawson. Second Michigan, Colonel William Humphrey. Seventeenth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Comstock. Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Smith and Major Cutcheon. Colonel Leasure commanded the brigade until November 10, when he was detached, and Colonel William Humphrey took command, which he retained until January 11, 1864. At that date the One Hundredth and Fiftieth Pennsylvania started on their veteran furlough, and the Twentieth Michigan was transferred to Morrison's First Brigade, which now was as follows:

FIRST BRIGADE.

Seventy-ninth New York, Captain Montgomery.
 Twentieth Michigan, Major Cutcheon.
 Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, Major Draper.
 Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Hills.

- (g) This continued our organization until we reached Annapolis, April 7, 1864. There a new deal was made all around, and the Twentieth got separated from most of our old comrades. We now became again the

SECOND BRIGADE.

Colonel B. C. Christ commanding, as follows:
 First Michigan Sharpshooters, Colonel C. V. De Land.
 Twentieth Michigan, Colonel B. M. Cutcheon.
 Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel D. Morrison.
 Sixtieth Ohio, Colonel J. C. McElroy.
 Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Overton.

- (h) May 9, Colonel Christ was disabled, and for two days we were under Colonel Hartranft.
 (i) May 12, the Seventy-ninth New York mustered out, and the Second Michigan was assigned to the brigade. Colonel Humphrey now took command until Colonel Christ returned, about May 24. The Second Michigan was then returned to the First Brigade.
 (j) June 19, the Second Michigan was again transferred to the Second Brigade, Colonel Christ having been wounded on the 18th of June. The Brigade was now

THE SECOND BRIGADE,

Colonel William Humphrey commanding, and consisted of the following regiments:

First Michigan Sharpshooters, Colonel De Land.

Second Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel March.

Twentieth Michigan, Colonel Cutcheon.

Forty-sixth New York, Captain Alphonse Servier.

Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Newberry.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Overton.

Sixtieth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel M. P. Avery.

October 13, Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry attached. October 18, Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry detached from the brigade.

- (k) December 1, 1864, Second Brigade, Colonel B. M. Cutcheon, commanding, was as follows:

First Michigan Sharpshooters, Captain Murdock.

Second Michigan Infantry, Lieutenant Colonel March.

Twentieth Michigan Infantry, Lieutenant Colonel Grant.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Captain Brumm.

Sixtieth Ohio, Major Avery.

Forty-sixth New York, Captain A. Becker.

Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry, Major Russell.

- (l) On December 15, the Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry was detached, and the brigade then remained unchanged to the close of hostilities.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Twentieth Michigan was at various times brigaded with the following named regiments:

Twenty-eighth Massachusetts.

Thirty-sixth Massachusetts.

Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry.

Forty-sixth New York Infantry.

Seventy-ninth New York Infantry.

Forty-fifth Pennsylvania.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania.

One Hundredth Pennsylvania

Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry.

Sixtieth Ohio Infantry.

Second Michigan.

Eighth Michigan.

Seventeenth Michigan.

First Michigan Sharpshooters.

But our most constant companions were the Second and Seventeenth Michigan and Fiftieth Pennsylvania.

While we were for a time, when we first joined in 1862, in the First Brigade, and again for a brief period in East Tennessee, yet our regular designation was the *Second Brigade, First Division, Ninth Army Corps*.

WILLCOX'S DIVISION during the period of our service with it, at various times embraced the following regiments:

The First Michigan Sharpshooters, Second, Eighth, Seventeenth, Twentieth and Twenty-seventh Michigan Infantry, the Forty-fifth, Fiftieth, One Hundredth and Fifty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, the Forty-sixth, Seventy-ninth and One Hundred and Ninth New York Volunteers, the Fourteenth New York Heavy

Artillery and Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry (dismounted), the Twenty-ninth, Thirty-sixth, Fifty-seventh and Fifty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers, the Twenty-seventh New Jersey (for a short time at Fredericksburg), the Sixtieth Ohio and Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry (dismounted), the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Wisconsin and the Third Maryland (four companies).

Of these, the most constant quantity was the six Michigan regiments, the Forty-fifth, Fiftieth and One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Forty-sixth, Seventy-ninth and One Hundred and Ninth New York, the Twenty-ninth and Thirty-sixth Massachusetts.—the Fifty-first Pennsylvania belonged during the campaign of 1864-65. The Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry was attached in June, 1864, and detached in October, 1864; the Fifty-seventh and Fifty-ninth Massachusetts were assigned to the division in September, 1864, when the old Ledlie division was broken up.

The Third Maryland, the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts and the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery came at the same time. The Twenty-seventh New Jersey was a nine months' regiment which joined shortly before the battle of Fredericksburg and mustered out July, '63. The Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Wisconsin joined about June, '64, and remained to the close of the war.

In the preparation of our Story of the Twentieth Michigan Regiment, I have relied first of all upon my own memory and letters written by me at the time, and upon written memoranda and reports made soon after the events.

Second. I have compared with constant care the official reports as published by the government in the "Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies."

Third, The reports of the adjutant general of the State of Michigan, 1862 to 1866.

Fourth, Numerous historical works, especially "The Campaigns of the Civil War," published by Scribners, and particularly the work of General A. A. Humphreys, on the Virginia campaigns of 1864 and 1865.

Fifth, "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," published by the Century Company. Memoirs of Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan. "Campaigning with Grant," by General Horace Porter; "Fox's Regimental Losses of the Civil War." I have in addition had the perusal of a large number of letters, diaries and memoranda made by various officers and men of the regiment, and placed in my hands for use by Lieutenant Charles W. Maynard. Among these, I have found most useful the diary of Captain McCollum up to the time of his death, and after that of Sergeant, afterwards Sergeant Major, George B. Arnold.

Sixth, Extensive correspondence with many of the surviving officers of the regiment.

Seventh, Manuscript memoranda made by me soon after the war and official documents in my hands.

APPENDIX "A."

FREDERICKSBURG CAMPAIGN, 1862.

- I. Report of Brigadier General O. B. Willcox.
- II. Report of Brigadier General W. W. Burns.

(Official Record, Vol. XXI, page 310.)

REPORT OF BRIGADIER GENERAL ORLANDO B. WILLCOX, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING NINTH ARMY CORPS.

Headquarters Ninth Army Corps,
Opposite Fredericksburg, Va., January 7, 1863.

* * * * *

The Forty-sixth Regiment, New York Volunteers, Lieutenant Joseph Gerhardt, of General William W. Burns' division, was the first to cross the bridge. Hawkins' brigade, of Getty's division, also crossed the same evening and * * * occupied the town that night. The remainder of my corps * * * crossed the next day (the 12th), immediately after the Second Corps.

On the next morning (the 13th), I was ordered by Major General Sumner to extend my left over Hazel Run to Deep Run, and to form the corps in three lines, with batteries in suitable positions, connecting on the right with the Second Corps (General Couch) and on the left with General Franklin.

* * * * *

Accordingly, Brigadier General S. D. Sturgis' division was placed nearest to Couch's corps, Burns' division nearest to Franklin's, and between Deep and Hazel Runs, and Getty's division between Sturgis' and Burns'.

* * * * *

General Burns crossed Deep Run, in support of General Franklin's command, at 3 p. m. General Getty's division was held, both as a reserve and as a corps of observation, to watch the communications of the center, and guard the left of the town.

* * * * *

In pursuance of orders from General Burnside, Burns' division recrossed Hazel Run next morning, and this corps was then selected to make the main attack. It was formed accordingly. Captain Weed had also selected positions

for six batteries to support the movement, and placed several in position, when the order was suspended, and finally countermanded.

* * * * *

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. B. WILLCOX,

Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Taylor,

Assistant Adjutant General, Hdqrs., Right Grand Division.

REPORT OF BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM W. BURNS, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING FIRST DIVISION.

Headquarters Burns' Division,

Opposite Fredericksburg, Va., December 17, 1862.

I have the honor to report the operations of my division on December 12, 13, 14 and 15.

On the evening of the 11th, the Forty-sixth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Gerhardt, crossed Bridge No. 3 as fast as the planks were laid down, and remained on picket duty in Fredericksburg during the night. I crossed the same bridge with the division about 9 o'clock on the 12th.

On the morning of the 13th, I was directed to move my division across Hazel Run, and connect my left with General Franklin's right at Deep Run, and hold myself subject to the orders of General Franklin if called upon.

About 3 o'clock I received an order from General Franklin to cross Deep Run and cover his bridges. I reported to General Franklin by authority of General Willcox, and remained during the night.

I received an order from General Franklin on the morning of the 14th to recross Deep Run and report to General Willcox, who directed me to form my division on the left bank of Hazel Run, preparatory to moving on the enemy at 10 o'clock.

I recrossed the Rappahannock on the 15th.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. W. BURNS,

Brigadier General, Commanding.

Captain Robert A. Hutchins,

Assistant Adjutant General.

APPENDIX "B."

HORSESHOE BEND CAMPAIGN, 1863.

- I. Report of Colonel David Morrison, Commanding Brigade.
- II. Report of Colonel Richard T. Jacob, Commanding Provisional Brigade.
- III. Report of Lieutenant Colonel W. Huntington Smith, Commanding Regiment.
- IV. Report of Captain W. D. Wilsie, Commanding Scouting Party.
- V. Extract from Diary of Lieutenant Walter McCollum, Commanding part of TWENTIETH MICHIGAN Detail.
- VI. Extract from Report of Brigadier General John H. Morgan, Commanding Confederate Force.

REPORT OF COLONEL DAVID MORRISON, SEVENTY-NINTH NEW YORK INFANTRY, COMMANDING FIRST BRIGADE, FIRST DIVISION, NINTH ARMY CORPS.

Hdqrs. First Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
Columbia, Ky., May 21, 1863.

Captain—* * * I have the honor to forward * * * a report by Lieutenant Colonel Smith, commanding Twentieth Michigan, of a fight between his command and Morgan's men, beyond the Cumberland.

* * * * *

It gives me great pleasure to report the gallant conduct of the Twentieth Michigan in the late fight at the Narrows. Both officers and men have earned for themselves a splendid reputation.

Although they were under fire about eight hours, and all of that time engaged by a vastly superior force of the enemy, the loss of the Twentieth was less than 30 in killed, wounded and missing.

There were several regiments of the rebels engaged, and one of them in particular lost in killed and wounded, 150 men. This I have from undoubted authority. I can only account for the comparatively small loss of the Twentieth by the superior position which that regiment occupied, and by the advantage which was taken of that position. The brigade has been anxiously awaiting the advent of the gallant general, John (H.) Morgan, who has said he will burn this place. * * * Morgan has about 6,000 men, with seven field pieces.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be, captain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
 DAVID MORRISON,
 Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Captain George A. Hicks,
 Assistant Adjutant General, First Division.

REPORT OF COLONEL RICHARD T. JACOB, NINTH KENTUCKY CAVALRY, COMMANDING BRIGADE.

Columbia, Ky., May 12, 1863.

Sir—In accordance with an order received from you, with parts of the Ninth, Eleventh and Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, I marched by the way of Jamestown and the mouth of Greasy Creek, to the Cumberland River, to create a diversion in favor of Brigadier General Carter, who was to have crossed the Cumberland at Waitsborough and Mill Springs to Monticello at daylight of the same day, Monday, April 27. * * *

On Tuesday, the 28th, I took possession of the Narrows of Horseshoe Bottom, a very strong position, driving out the enemy's pickets. I had nearly crossed my whole force when I received information that the enemy were crossing a force at Rowens to try and flank us. I recrossed a battalion to prevent such a movement, and sent scouts to ascertain the truth of the report. * * *

On Thursday, April 30, I received information from Brigadier General Carter that he would cross the river and march to Monticello.

On the same day I was reinforced by the Twentieth Michigan Infantry and two pieces of the Twenty-fourth Indiana Battery.

* * * * *

On Friday, May 1, at 10 o'clock, with my whole command, I gave orders at once to cross. The Cumberland had now become unfordable and I had to swim the horses that were on the north side, including the crossing of artillery and infantry.

By 12 p. m. I had crossed my whole force. Leaving camp at an early hour, I arrived by 2 o'clock with my command at Monticello. Brigadier General Carter had arrived the evening before, after first defeating the enemy. Though too late to aid in the fight, I learned from Colonel Wolford that we had completely deceived the enemy, making them believe that the real force was with us and the feint from them, thus giving ample time to cross, while the enemy was distracted, without demonstration.

On Monday, May 4, all the cavalry at Monticello under command of Colonel Wolford pursued the enemy. Finding that he had crossed the mountains, we returned.

On the next day I was ordered to return by way of Jamestown.

On Wednesday, May 6, I commenced recrossing the Cumberland, which was now very high from heavy rains. With only one small, half-rotten boat, that would transport only five horses at a time, I found it tedious to cross.

I was all Thursday and Friday swimming horses, crossing wagons, etc.

On Saturday morning, crossed artillery. Hearing of a desperate band of guerrillas, and finding a guide who knew of their whereabouts, some eight miles from the river, and having the infantry (unemployed) to cover the crossing of the cavalry, artillery, etc., I determined to send a strong party of 100 men against them, believing I would do a good service by breaking up the band. I sent the party under command of Captain Wiltsie, of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry, assisted by Captain Wilson, with his Company (M), Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, and Captain Searcy and his Company (L), Ninth Kentucky Cavalry; in all, amounting to 104 men. They arrived at their destination Saturday morning and seized some twelve desperate men.

About 2 p. m. they were charged by a body of cavalry numbering some 250 or 300 men, which proved to be Major General Morgan's advance guard. Our men fell back in two parties, one down the big road toward the Narrows, and the other, under Captain Wiltsie and 40 men toward the river. The first party got to the Narrows about sunset, after some fighting, losing one officer wounded and taken prisoner and two men killed.

Captain Wiltsie's party were repeatedly charged and never fell back in front until about to be surrounded, when they would fall back and take a new position. Three times they charged the enemy and drove them. Captain (Joseph) Chenault, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and not less than twenty-five or thirty men of the enemy were killed and wounded. I heard of this about 5 p. m., and immediately crossed the river with most of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry, and sent word to Lieutenant Colonel Boyle, commanding the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, and Lieutenant Colonel Holean, commanding the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, to come over at once with two battalions, leaving the rest to guard the horses each of their respective commands.

Lieutenant Boyle thought best (which I sanctioned), as he heard that the enemy was crossing at Rowena, not to come over. * * *

At daylight I visited with Lieutenant Colonel Holean, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry, and Major Rue, volunteer aide from the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, and others, the advance pickets.

On Sunday, the 10th, at 8 a. m., the enemy drove in the advance picket. I ordered the men to cover themselves as well as possible and fire slowly and deliberately, we occupying a strong position in the Narrows of Horseshoe Bottom. This continued some four hours, when I ordered one piece of cannon to be crossed over the river, being determined to discover the numbers and intention of the enemy. The other piece I ordered to the top of a hill on the other side of the river, in order to cover our retreat if it became necessary; also, all men on the north side of the river, to be held in readiness to secure the same thing.

At 3:15 o'clock, after seven hours and fifteen minutes skirmishing, I got one piece of artillery in position. I then massed most of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry and one battalion of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry (dismounted) and armed with carbines, and ordered when the cannon opened on the enemy to charge them. The fight instantly became terrific. Our men, led by their gallant officers, charged on a house and lot by which the enemy were covered, and car-

ried everything before them. Finding the enemy had made a fortress of the house, I had it shelled. It became a hand-to-hand contest, and we drove them gallantly over a quarter of a mile, when Morgan arrived with seven fresh regiments, but fortunately, his battery still behind, and immediately precipitated them upon us. Before the overwhelming mass, of at least ten to one, our men had to retire from the open field to the cover of the timber in the Narrows. It was then that the one piece of artillery was of signal service. The enemy advanced, not in line, but in masses, and I had shell after shell thrown into their midst, until they scattered in every direction.

The men being exhausted, some having been in two days' fight with nothing to eat since the day before, and convinced of the overwhelming force of the enemy, and having fought ten times our number for forty-five minutes, I determined to retreat. We quietly did so, retiring the 450 men who had been in the fight, and advancing the reserve of 125 men of dismounted Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, under command of Captain Harrison. The men marched deliberately and in the best order to the river, three miles distant.

I retired with the men, to bend every effort to have them crossed as rapidly as possible. While doing so, a messenger, Lieutenant Colonel Holeman, came in and informed me that Captain (William J.) Davis, Major General Morgan's adjutant general, had come in under flag of truce, to demand my unconditional surrender.

I sent word back by Lieutenant Colonel Holeman, that I would never surrender while there was a shot in the locker. In the meantime, Morgan becoming impatient, withdrew his flag of truce, and said he would move directly upon our lines. Captain Harrison, commanding reserve of 125 men, sent him word to let himself in.

Lieutenant Colonel Boyle, who had come up during the fight, conducted the retreat of the reserve * * * with marked ability, judgment and coolness. * * Leaving three men, an advance picket—who were within conversational distance of the enemy's picket—as a sacrifice, he quietly withdrew. * * * The cannon with the horses had previously been crossed and put in position to secure retreat. The three pickets of Company B, Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, under charge of Sergeant (Joseph W.) Dexter * * * succeeded in making good their escape.

Where every one, from the highest officer under command, to the humblest private, behaved with the most distinguished gallantry, it may appear invidious to mention names. I will, however, mention such as came under my immediate observation. Lieutenant Colonel Holeman, commanding the charge, being ranking officer, and commander of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, cheered the men on to their work of death, and wherever the fight was most dangerous, there he could be found. * * * Lieutenant Colonel Smith, commanding the Twentieth Michigan Infantry, executed his orders promptly and with great coolness and bravery. Major Byron M. Cutcheon led the Twentieth Michigan Infantry in the charge, and behaved with great gallantry. * * * Captain Frank Porter, of the Twentieth Michigan, captured a prisoner and secured him in the thickest of the fight. Major Delfosse of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry * * *

behaved with the utmost bravery, as did also Captain Grant, of the Twentieth Michigan. Captain Sims worked his gun with great skill. Lieutenant H. W. Shafer did the most rapid and accurate firing, carrying death and destruction to the enemy.

If there was any cowardice, I did not see or hear of it. The men of Michigan, Indiana and Kentucky vied with each other in daring deeds, and men never fought better. Captains Wiltsie, Wilson, Allen and Searcy, I am informed, fought with great skill and bravery in Saturday's fight.

Dr. (S. B.) Littlepage of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Dr. (W. W.) Payne, of the Twentieth Michigan, and Dr. (W.) Bailey, of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, were earnest in their efforts to attend to the sufferings of the wounded.

The killed, wounded and missing of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry, is 26 in both fights; of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, 10; the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry (not in Sunday's fight) lost 6 in the Saturday's. I do not know the loss of the enemy, but I think it very heavy. We had 450 men in the fight, and fought Major General Morgan, with nine regiments, for forty-five minutes, and then crossed the Deep River with only one small boat, a few canoes and a half broken, half-sunken gunnel, floored, and half a foot of water on it. The enemy did not follow us.

No one, not knowing the topography of the country and the situation of our respective forces, can appreciate the difficulties of our position and the success of our retreat.

By your order, we have fallen back here; also by your order, I respectfully submit the report of the expedition, of the trip to Monticello, and the fights of Saturday and Sunday.

Respectfully,

RICHARD T. JACOB,

Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Brigadier General Manson,
Lebanon, Ky.

* * * * *

APPENDA.

General—Since writing the above report, a citizen, whose veracity is vouched for, and who lives in the neighborhood of the battle-ground, says, to his own personal knowledge, there were over 100 of the enemy buried. Estimating the wounded in the small proportion of three to one, we would have 300, or a total of 400, and within 50 of being equal to all we had in the fight.

Respectfully,

RICHARD T. JACOB,

Colonel Commanding Brigade.

Brigadier General Manson.

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL W. HUNTINGTON SMITH,
TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

Headquarters, Twentieth Michigan Infantry,
Columbia, Ky., May 12, 1863.

Colonel—I hereby submit to you my report of the duties performed by this regiment from Tuesday, April 28, to May 12, 1863, inclusive, being the time we were detached from the brigade, which is as follows:

Tuesday, April 28—Agreeably to your orders of this date, I marched from the brigade at Green River toward Columbia, where it was intended we should do provost duty, protecting citizens and property, and arresting all armed citizens, and report to your headquarters. Having already marched about twelve miles, I continued on the road for about two and one-half miles, when I halted for the night.

Wednesday, April 29.—At about 2 a. m., I received your order of this date (1 a. m.), in which we were instructed to leave at Columbia our teams and knapsacks; to proceed from there in light marching order, with three days' rations, to Greasy Creek, by way of Jamestown, to reinforce Colonel Jacob, and to be accompanied by Captain Sims' battery. I was to move by forced marches and to march by daybreak. I marched by 6 o'clock, arriving at Columbia at 10 a. m., a distance of ten miles. At Columbia we stored our baggage, knapsacks, etc., getting dinner and providing the rations, marching at 2 p. m., making ten miles. We bivouacked for the night.

Thursday, April 30—Marched at 7 a. m., after first having mustered the regiment for pay. Arrived at Jamestown at 1 p. m., distance, eight miles. Passing through this place, I marched directly to the top of the bluff, at the ferry over the Cumberland River, at the mouth of Greasy Creek, arrived at about 4 o'clock; distance, five miles.

Friday, May 1—Remained on the bluff until afternoon, when at 2:30 p. m., I received the following order:

Camp at Mouth of Greasy Creek,
_____, 1863.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith,

Commanding Twentieth Michigan Volunteers:

Sir—I have just been ordered at once with the whole command to the support of General Carter. You will march your men immediately down the hill to the ferry landing. Please inform Captain Sims to move down the battery.

RICHARD T. JACOB,
Colonel Commanding.

At 3 o'clock my command was in motion down the hill to the ferry, and was detained there until about 9 o'clock in the evening before receiving the boat to carry my men over, all of which, however, we succeeded in accomplishing at

about 1 o'clock in the morning. Moving forward about two miles into the Narrows, we bivouacked for the night.

Saturday, May 2—Marched at 7:30 o'clock for Monticello, passing through a thickly wooded and uneven country. Arrived there at 3:30 p. m., a distance of thirteen miles. The enemy had been driven out the preceding afternoon by General Carter.

Sunday, May 3—Remained quiet all day.

Monday, May 4—Continued in camp.

Tuesday, May 5—Received orders to march back to the ferry on the Cumberland; at the mouth of Greasy Creek at 10 o'clock, and marched at 11 o'clock through a most drenching storm of rain and over roads ankle-deep with mud. Arrived at the commencement of the Narrows at about 5 p. m., having marched eleven miles. Here we encamped for the night.

Wednesday, May 6—Marched this morning at 6 o'clock down to the river, but were ordered to wait and cross over last, the cavalry having arrived and occupied the boat during the day.

Thursday, May 7—Waited all day for crossing.

Friday, May 8—Waited all day for crossing.

Saturday, May 9—The artillery commenced crossing.

At 10 o'clock on the evening of the 8th, Colonel Jacob sent out a scouting party of 100 men, under command of Captain W. D. Wiltzie, of my regiment, for the purpose of breaking up a band of guerrillas near the distillery at Alcorn's, of which number I furnished 60 men, with instructions to return to the regiment by 12 m., Saturday. For full particulars of the doings of this party, I refer to Captain Wiltzie's report, attached.

The same night I sent out Captain Barnes with his command about two miles to the farther end of the Narrows as a support to the scouting party, we already having two companies (A and D) on picket at this end of the Narrows.

At 3 p. m. of Saturday I had all of my men over the river except those of the scouting party and the Companies (A, C and D) on picket duty. These companies were ordered to fall back to the river as soon as the party returned.

At 4 o'clock word came that our pickets were being attacked, and I immediately communicated the same to Colonel Jacob, who had crossed the river. Also ordered a detachment of 100 men from my regiment to recross the river, which was quickly done. Major Cutcheon, in the meantime, went to the front to see the men already there, taking the scattered forces of Grant, Allen, Dewey and Carpenter, and placing them on a commanding position, on the top of a hill. Captain Barnes, with his men, advanced down the road about two miles on the first intimation of the attack, which was a great support to Captains Allen and Carpenter, with each a few men as they had been cut off from Captain Wiltzie and his party, but fighting their way back most manfully. Captain Barnes then returned to his original position, holding everything quiet for the night except a slight cavalry attack upon his pickets, which was easily repulsed with the assistance of such as had been sent to him from our own regiment and from the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry.

At about 8 a. m. the enemy vigorously attacked our pickets with dismounted

cavalry, and after a brisk resistance for fifteen minutes, drove them in upon the main line. I immediately brought forward Companies F, G and I, which were in reserve, and established the line as follows: Company F was deployed as skirmishers along a wooded ravine on the right, to prevent that flank from being turned. Companies C and K were massed behind the crest of a small hill to the right of the main road, while Companies A and D were massed in a similar manner behind a fence on the crest of a high hill to the left. These were to hold the road and prevent a cavalry dash. Companies B and E held the continuation of the fence to the left, and the extreme left was held by a battalion of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, dismounted. Companies I and G were in reserve at the foot of the hill in the rear of the center.

At about 4 p. m. one piece of Captain Sims' (Twenty-fourth Indiana) battery arrived upon the ground and took position on an eminence on the extreme left. Companies B, I and G were ordered forward to support the gun. The gun immediately opened a rapid and well-directed fire upon the house, orchard and woods, in which the rebels were massed. At the same time a charge was ordered along the whole line, which was executed in a most gallant manner, clearing the enemy from the house, orchard and fences, where they had lain during the day, and driving them into the woods. We were soon met by a counter-charge in such immensely superior numbers that we were obliged to fall back to our former position, which was held with the greatest obstinacy for three-fourths of an hour, when the men being exhausted with the unequal contest and the long abstinence from food and sleep, it was deemed prudent to withdraw to the north side of the Cumberland, which was done without loss or accident.

I take great pleasure in saying that there was not a company of this regiment but conducted itself in a brave and courageous manner, and all seemed over-anxious to be the first in and last out of the fight. We crossed the river without confusion or accident, completing the same by 7 o'clock, and bivouacked for the night on a bluff commanding the ferry.

Monday, May 11—At 11 a. m., I received orders to move back to Columbia, and commenced doing so at 12 m., under a very hot sun. Marched thirteen miles and bivouacked for the night. On the way we met the Seventeenth Michigan coming to our aid.

Tuesday, May 12—Marched at 6 o'clock, arriving at Columbia at 10:30 a. m. Here we joined our brigade, and received our camp equipment and baggage.

I have to report, with regret, the loss of several excellent officers during the skirmish of Saturday and the fight of Sunday, consisting of Lieutenant W. M. Greene, of Company A, killed on Sunday, (he was an officer highly esteemed by his men and much respected by his associate officers); also Lieutenant Clement A. Lounsberry, of Company I, wounded severely in the thigh on Saturday, while returning to the regiment from the party of scouts; and Lieutenant H. V. Knight, of Company H, taken prisoner with several soldiers of the scouting party.

I append a list of the casualties that occurred as follows: Killed, 4; wounded, 18; missing, 6; total, 28.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. HUNTINGTON SMITH,
Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Regiment.

Colonel D. Morrison,

Commanding First Brigade, First Division, Ninth Corps:

Colonel—Being in haste at the time of concluding my official report of the affairs of Saturday and Sunday, the 9th and 10th instants, I neglected to speak as I should have done of the conduct of the officers of my regiment. Where all were cool and active it is almost impossible to specify particular instances. I cannot refrain, however, from mentioning the names of Captain Barnes, Grant, Wiltsie, Allen, Dewey, Carpenter and Porter, and of Lieutenant Bullis; also Major Cutcheon, for his bravery, daring, and activity in the discharge of his duties. All deserve mention, but these attracted my attention in particular. All the officers and men vied with each other in their efforts to merit well of their country and of their commander.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

W. HUNTINGTON SMITH,

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Volunteers.

Colonel D. Morrison, Commanding Brigade.

REPORT OF CAPTAIN WENDELL D. WILTSIE, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

(Official Records, Vol. XXIII, Part 1, Page 307).

Camp at Green's Ferry,

Cumberland River, Ky., May 11, 1863.

Sir—I have the honor to report that, on the 8th instant, I received orders from Colonel Jacob, commanding at this post, to proceed, with a force of 100 men, to where a band of guerrillas under the notorious (Champ.) Ferguson were supposed to be lurking in the mountains between here and Monticello, and if possible, to discover and break it up. I accordingly took 25 men of my own company (H), under Lieutenant McCollum; 30 from Companies B, F, G, I and K, all picked men, under Captain Allen; a company of 28 men under Captain Searcy, of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, and a company of Henry Rifles (27) under Captain Wilson, Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, all dismounted, and moved from the river at 9 p. m.

At the Narrows, where Captain Barnes was stationed with his company as a reserve force, I left the Monticello road on our right, and proceeded by mountain paths to Harmon's Creek, thence back to the road at Alcorn's, which is nine miles from the ferry and seven from Monticello. From here we proceeded south to Beaver Creek, and returned to Alcorn's at 2 p. m. of Saturday, the 9th instant, not having met any armed force, but capturing in all twelve prisoners and five horses, supposed to belong to the band we were in search of, and burning Alcorn's distillery, which was a lurking place for bushwhackers. Here we rested for dinner, the men being very much exhausted, having been almost continually on the march from the time we started over steep mountains—difficult both in

ascent and descent—through creeks and ravines, with wet feet and without food or sleep.

My first instructions were to return to camp by 12 m. Saturday, but finding that I had been greatly deceived in the distance I was to make, and that it was impossible to do any important part of the work allotted me, I early in the morning dispatched a messenger to Colonel Jacob, to inform him of what I had already done, and to ask an extension of time until 4 p. m., when, if not prevented by an enemy, I would arrive in camp. Colonel Jacob granted my request, and I proceeded to complete my task. When my messenger returned, I should not fail to state that he informed me that rebel cavalry had been seen on the road between me and the reserve at the Narrows. I immediately took the precaution to send Captain Carpenter, with 24 men, back two miles on the main road to a cross-road, to be within striking distance, should Captain Allen, who had gone a short distance back in the mountains with nine men to examine a ravine and rock house, be attacked, and at the same time to keep a strict watch over the roads.

We had not rested at Alcorn's more than half an hour, when my pickets toward Monticello were furiously attacked by rebel cavalry, whom we at first supposed to be guerrillas, but who were Morgan's advance guard of 300 men. They dismounted instantly upon receiving the first fire, and attempted to surround us under cover of the woods. Upon hearing the alarm shots, I immediately threw Company H into the road with fixed bayonets, and the cavalry under Captain Wilson forward to the support of the pickets, while Lieutenant Knight, with six men, were left to guard the prisoners, all of whom were probably taken prisoners before getting away from Alcorn's house. I very soon discovered that, while I could keep the enemy from advancing in front, my force was too small, having only about 40 men present, to keep him back on the flanks, and that I would certainly be surrounded if I did not hastily retire.

I accordingly fell back through their lines, and brought them by doing so, immediately in our front again. We were pressed so hotly from the onset by such superior numbers that it was impossible to take our prisoners to the rear, so they all escaped except one, who was taken along by Captain Carpenter, and we only brought in two of the horses. When we gained the cover of the woods on the north side of the road we made a stand, and, though the "Butternuts" outnumbered us eight to one, and came down shouting, "Give the Yankee sons of b—s no quarter," they could not drive us from our position, except as they were about to flank us. We repeatedly drove them, and at one charge, the last we made, swept them clean from the woods.

At this period they retired to remount, leaving only a few skirmishers to harass us. Finding my men suffering from excessive thirst and great exhaustion, I ordered them to fall back, which they did in good order, to a strong and safe position, where we rested until midnight. Having lost my guide and not being familiar with the country, I found great difficulty in getting out to the road. About daylight, however, we struck a mountain road, which, from its course, I judged would lead us out of the wilderness, and which we followed until we discovered in the path before us about 50 soldiers, whom we knew, from their peculiar dress, were rebel soldiers. Being too weak to engage them, we returned

and retreated to the river, where we found a raft, embarked, cut it loose and floated down to the ferry, reaching camp at 4 p. m., having been out forty-three hours.

Upon hearing guns Captain Carpenter immediately started to my assistance, but was met on the way by rebel cavalry, which he gallantly repulsed. Deeming it impossible to reinforce me, however, he fell back on the road until met by Captains Barnes and Allen. Upon consultation it was deemed prudent for Captain Barnes to fall rapidly back and hold the Narrows, while Captain Allen, with his whole detachment would fall back leisurely. Before Captain Allen reached the reserve post, the rebel cavalry dashed down upon him in great force, but were unable to rout him. He was compelled, however, to fall back, which he did in good order until he reached the reserve, the rebels not caring to press very hard after him.

In the last engagement Captain Allen lost one man killed, one officer (Lieutenant C. A. Lounsberry) wounded and prisoner, and one missing. In the first encounter Lieutenant McCollum lost one killed and Lieutenant Knight and one man taken prisoner and one missing. The companies of Kentucky cavalry lost two killed, one wounded and six missing.

I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of both officers and men engaged in this terribly unequal strife. That 40 men held 300 at bay for over two hours and finally drove them back, or that 30 should repulse 250, shows with what determined bravery they stood, and with what desperate energy they fought. While I must speak of the conduct of all in terms of highest praise, I am forced by conviction of what appears to me to be largely his due, to mention the name of Sergeant A. A. Day, Company H, who stood foremost in the fight, where bullets rained through the whole of the engagement. Allow me, sir, to recommend him to your favorable notice.

During the whole engagement at Alcorn's, I was nobly supported by Captain Wilson, of the Henry Rifles (Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry) and Captain Searcy, of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, both of whom were heroes in the fight. The enemy reports a large number killed and wounded in the engagement of Saturday, and among the killed a number of valuable officers.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient and humble servant,

W. D. WILTSIE,

Captain, Commanding Scouting Party.

Lieutenant Colonel William H. Smith.

Commanding Twentieth Regiment, Michigan Volunteers.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF LIEUTENANT WALTER MCCOLLUM, COMPANY H, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN, CONTAINING
RECORD OF THE SCOUTING PARTY MAY 9TH AND 10TH,
1863.

May 8—The cavalry is still crossing. At 9 p. m., a scouting party of 103 men under Captain Wiltzie went out on a scout in the direction of Monticello, for the

purpose of breaking up a band of resident guerrillas or "bushwhackers," reported to be in the vicinity of a distillery owned by a man named Alcorn. The party was composed as follows: 25 men from Company H, 30 from other companies and about 50 Henry Rifles from the Ninth and Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, under Captains Wilson and Searcy. Officers in all were Captains Wiltzie, Allen, Carpenter and Montgomery. Lieutenants McCollum, Lounsberry and Knight from the Twentieth Michigan. The two above named cavalry captains, and Lieutenants Bullis and Lippencott of the cavalry. The party went four miles on the main road from the mouth of Greasy Creek to Monticello, to the residence of Wesley Coffey, where the whole party, under the lead of two guides, turned to the left and went about two miles to the house of a man named William Dean. Here the cavalry proceeded to take the distillery at Alcorn's on the main road, while the detachment from the Twentieth Michigan went to Harmon's Creek for the purpose of arresting some who were supposed to be "bushwhackers." By daylight, two were taken, named Alcorn.

May 9—The party reached the main road at daylight at the house of the Alcorns' father, which place was seven miles from Monticello and nine miles from camp. After breakfast the cavalry, under Captain Wilson, went three and one-half miles after some more supposed guerrillas of whom we took seven, returning at 2 p. m. In the meantime, Captains Allen and Carpenter went on another scout and got back to the main road about one and one-half miles toward camp. At about 2:30 p. m. the two men on picket toward Monticello saw the approach of a large body of the enemy's cavalry. The action commenced at once. The cavalry of Captain Wilson was ordered down the road to meet them. The enemy went to the rear of the house and soon surrounded it and got into the road, cutting us off. One of our men came back badly wounded at the outset. Company H was formed to prevent their coming down the road. Being nearly surrounded, a break was made for a piece of woods near the house, where the fight was continued two hours. Three times the men rallied, at one time driving them out of the woods. Corporal Lyons was shot through the lower part of the face and neck. Sherman and Stringham received slight wounds. One of the cavalry had been wounded in the leg badly and one killed.

After the firing had partially ceased and a flank movement was evident, the company fell back, going down the end of the ridge into the valley, near the residence of one of the younger Alcorn's, up the hill and about two miles from the scene of the engagement, where we rested until midnight, when we went on slowly, until finding the river.

May 10—Rested a few hours and started back toward camp. Knew that it was difficult as we heard the enemy fighting Captains Allen and Carpenter, who fell back to the pickets with loss. Before reaching the top of the hill we saw about 50 of the enemy in the valley. There being but 22 in our crowd they fell back to the river. After vain attempts to build a raft one was found, on which attempt was made to cross, but it was impossible to do so as the oars were poor and the men weak, so the raft floated down the river, the men expecting every moment to be fired into from the bank. The raft lodged in the bushes two miles above camp, and at 4 p. m. all got ashore in a canoe. The regiment had

came up to the Narrows and were engaged in a fight at the Narrows with a superior force of Morgan's. Our regiment numbered 200, the whole force, cavalry too, not being 500 men. They fell back before dark and recrossed the river. The killed, wounded and missing were 28. Lieutenant Knight and one man of Company H, and five cavalry were taken prisoners at Alcorn's. The force recrossed safely.

REPORT OF BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN H. MORGAN, C. S. ARMY.

Official Records, Vol. XXIII, Part 1, Page 313.

* * * * *
Headquarters Morgan's Division.
Memphis, May 11, 1863.

General.

* * * * *
I arrived here in the evening of the 9th instant.

In the following day I attacked the Federals at Horseshoe Bend. Their force amounted to between 1,200 and 1,500 men and two pieces of artillery. After a brisk fight of about an hour and a half I routed them and drove them across the river, with a loss of some 135 killed, wounded and prisoners. My own loss amounted to about 40 killed and wounded.

* * * * *
The force which invaded this country a few days since, consisted of General S. F. Carter's division, a cavalry brigade, under command of Colonel Jacob, and a brigade of infantry. The Federals now occupy Somerses, Columbia, Carthage, Masgow and Lebanon in force.

* * * * *
With sentiments of high regard, General, your obedient servant.

JOHN H. MORGAN.

Brigadier General.

Major General S. B. Buckner.

Commanding Department of the East Tennessee.

APPENDIX "C."

MISSISSIPPI CAMPAIGN, 1862

- I. Report of Major-General John G. Parke, Commanding Ninth Corps.
- II. Report of Colonel David Leasure, Commanding Brigade.

Official Records, Vol. XXIV, Part 2, Page 333

REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN G. PARKE, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING NINTH ARMY CORPS

Headquarters, Ninth Army Corps,
Mobile, Miss., July 31, 1862.

Colonel— I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the corps under my command while serving with the Expeditionary Army, commanded by Major-General W. T. Sherman, against the Confederate forces under General Joseph E. Johnston.

My command consisted of the First Division, Ninth Corps, Brigadier-General Thomas Welsh commanding; Second Division, Ninth Corps, Brigadier-General R. B. Frier commanding; and the First Division, Seventeenth Corps, Brigadier-General William Stry Smith commanding.

On the fall of Vicksburg and the receipt of orders to move, this force occupied the line extending from Oak Ridge, East of the Etowah, commencing there with General McArthur's command.

Batteries and rifle-pieces were constructed covering the approaches from the north and eastward. In the afternoon of the 14th of July, the command moved in the direction of Jones Ford and Burdick Ferry, reaching these points in the morning of the 15th.

We found the enemy occupying the opposite bank, and our skirmishers were immediately engaged. Owing to the configuration of the ground, and the heavy timber, with thick underbrush, the enemy was enabled, with a small force, completely covered by the high bank, to prevent our men from approaching the ford or finding for the purpose of making any examination as to depth of water until after nightfall. It was then found that the ford was impracticable for all arms.

On the 16th, a lodgment was effected on the opposite bank, and by dint of constant exertion, a bridge was built and the two divisions of the Ninth Corps were crossed on the 17th. In the meantime the ferry-boats had been discovered, raised and put in working order. By this means, General Smith's division crossed.

On the evening of the 7th we moved out from Birdsong Ferry and bivouacked at 10 p. m. at Robertson's, adjoining Jeff. Davis' plantation, near Bolton.

On the afternoon of the 8th we moved on the main road, but finding that we came in contact with General Steele's command, we took a side road and, making a detour, we again bivouacked at 10 p. m., within a few miles of Clinton.

On the 9th we made an early start, but soon came up to the rear of Steele's column. Finding that there was but one main road for us north of the railroad leading to Jackson, we diverged, and after a good deal of labor, cutting through timber, we succeeded in opening a road through the plantations, nearly parallel with the main road. Toward sundown we came upon the enemy's cavalry, when some skirmishing ensued, in which both the enemy and ourselves used artillery. Finding that the head of my column was as far advanced as that of General Ord's, we bivouacked and started on the morning of the 10th over a plantation road that brought us out on the Livingston and Canton road, five miles north of Jackson.

As we neared Jackson, the enemy's vedettes and pickets were driven in, until we approached the insane asylum ridge. This ridge was reported occupied by the enemy, both by infantry and artillery. Dispositions were made for taking and holding this ridge, it being all important to us in operations against the town of Jackson. The enemy retired as our line advanced, and at dark we occupied a line at right angles to the Canton road, and extending from near Pearl River over to the Livingston road, crossing the railroad.

On the morning of the 11th, the line was advanced, driving the enemy's skirmishers within their entrenchments.

This line was held by our troops, although a continuous firing was kept up by the skirmishers and at intervals by the artillery.

We found the enemy posted behind a continuous line of rifle-pits, with batteries at intervals, raking the road and approaches.

Our men were covered and protected as much as possible and epaulements thrown up for our batteries as rapidly as the limited supply of tools would admit.

The enemy made several attempts to drive our skirmishers, but were as often repulsed.

On the 16th an advance of my whole line was ordered, with the view of ascertaining the strength of the enemy and the position and number of the batteries. The advance was made in gallant style, but with severe loss, particularly in General Smith's division. It developed the enemy in force behind his entrenchments, with formidable batteries, which made free use of shrapnel, canister and shell.

During the night of the 16th, movements of the enemy were reported. Early in the morning of the 17th, the whole line advanced, but soon found that the enemy had retired. General Ferrero, commanding brigade of General Potter's division, moved into town, and immediately established guards and patrols. One second lieutenant and 137 enlisted men were taken prisoners. On the arrival of General Blair's division, the brigade of General Potter's division was withdrawn. The command was then encamped near Pearl River. The destruction of the rail-

road north of Jackson was then commenced, and by the evening of the 19th, about fifteen miles of track were rendered totally unfit for service. The ties were burned and the rails bent.

On the morning of the 20th I started, with the two divisions of the Ninth Corps, to return to our old position at Milldale, near Snyder's Bluff, and reached our camp on the evening of the 23d, when I reported to General Grant.

Herewith I have the honor to transmit the reports of the division commanders, embracing a list of casualties.

Before closing this report, I take great pleasure in stating that the conduct of the officers and men throughout the campaign fully equalled my highest expectations, although the excessive heat, dusty roads, and great scarcity of water tried them to the utmost.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JOHN G. PARKE,

Major General.

Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Hammond,
Chief of Staff.

(Official Records, Vol. XXIV, Part 2, Page 562.)

REPORT OF COLONEL DANIEL LEASURE, ONE HUNDREDTH PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY, COMMANDING THIRD BRIGADE.

Grant's Mills, Pearl River, Miss.,

July 17, 1863.

Captain—I have the honor to report the operations of this command from the 4th day of July, until the 16th, both inclusive, for the information of the brigadier general commanding the division:

On the 4th day of July, this command, composed of the Seventy-ninth Regiment New York Volunteers (Highlanders), Colonel Morrison commanding; the Second Regiment Michigan Volunteers, Colonel Humphrey commanding; the One Hundredth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers (Roundheads), Lieutenant Colonel Dawson commanding; the Eighth Regiment Michigan Volunteers, Colonel Graves commanding, and the Twentieth Regiment Michigan Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Smith commanding, were encamped at Flower Hill Church, fifteen miles east of Vicksburg.

The enemy's forces in Vicksburg having surrendered unconditionally to the forces under Major General Grant, orders were received at these headquarters to break camp and move in light marching order toward the Big Black River at 4 p. m. At 4 o'clock we marched, and bivouacked after marching eight miles.

On the 5th we bivouacked near the Big Black, and on the 6th we crossed that river and marched toward the city of Jackson, the capital of the state, the Ninth Army Corps, Major General Parke commanding, forming the extreme left of the advancing columns, our course being such as to throw us, with the left of our line resting on Pearl River, north of the city.

On the 10th, at 3 p. m., we arrived on the Jackson and Brownsville road, about two miles from the state insane asylum, which is situated on the Jackson and Canton road, about a mile from the city limit on the north. At this point we formed line of battle threatening the city. The First Brigade of the First Division, Colonel H. Bowman, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers commanding, formed with its right resting upon the Brownsville road. The Third Brigade (this command) formed on his left, constituting the extreme left of the line, with its left extending toward Pearl River. My instructions were to throw forward skirmishers to a distance of from 200 to 400 yards in advance of my line of battle, and conform the movement of my skirmishers and line of battle to those of Colonel Bowman's brigade. About 5 p. m. we commenced to advance, the Seventy-ninth Regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Morrison commanding, being thrown forward as skirmishers. At first our advance was through an immense plain of tall corn, bordering upon the Jackson & Memphis Railroad. On arriving near the railroad, we encountered the enemy's advanced line of skirmishers, which were rapidly driven by my line of skirmishers, which kept up a constant fire as it advanced. This command arrived first at the railroad, where it halted until the entire line had arrived at that point. We now encountered a dense chaparral of undergrowth so that I was obliged to advance by right of companies to the front, the line of skirmishers meanwhile thoroughly beating the cover, until we arrived at the Jackson and Canton road, where the line was again formed, and we awaited orders. At this point, we discovered the advanced vedettes of a cavalry force of the enemy approaching the city by the Canton road. The vedettes fell back and it was afterward ascertained that the cavalry force amounted to several thousands. We saw nothing more of it.

Again we advanced, swinging our left rapidly round, so as to close, if possible, with our left resting on Pearl River, north of the city, or at least near enough to it to protect our left flank by skirmishers. At dark we arrived upon a road leading from the Canton road to Pearl River, and as this was parallel with our line of approach, and further progress through the chaparral imprudent, I ordered a halt, with my right resting near the left of Colonel Bowman, and awaited orders, which, having received, I threw out pickets and lay on arms till daylight of the 11th, when we reformed and adjusted our line of battle.

At 5 o'clock the whole line advanced toward the city. The Second Regiment Michigan Volunteers was now thrown forward as skirmishers on my right, and to advance upon the city until I drew the fire of the enemy's batteries, then put my troops in the most convenient cover, and await orders. We now crossed an open space of nearly a mile, in front and to the east of the insane asylum, when we reached a small, dry channel of a run, from which there was a steep ascent to a high ridge in our front. On arriving at the top of the ridge, I found my skirmishers receiving and returning a rapid fire from the enemy, who was drawn up in line of battle behind some imperfectly constructed rifle-pits immediately beyond a small ravine that intervened between the high plateau occupied by my skirmishers and the high hill bounding the city on the north and commanding it as well as the approach from the north and northwest.

Here were two guns, six and ten-pounder field pieces, in position behind

the rifle-pits and partially protected by an unfinished earthwork. My right was about 200 yards from the enemy's works and my left about 500 yards, while my skirmishers were about 100 yards in front of my line of battle. Here we received the first fire from the enemy's artillery, and halted pursuant to orders.

Just after we halted a few minutes, an order came down from the right (by whom I do not know), "Skirmishers on the left, forward, double-quick," and away went my line of skirmishers toward the enemy's works. Momentarily I waited for the order for the line to move rapidly forward to support the skirmishers, but it did not come. Meanwhile, my skirmishers, supposing the line to be right after them, closed to half distance, dashed through the enemy's camp, which was in the ravine in front of their rifle-pits, drove their skirmishers into and then out of their rifle-pits into their line of battle, which also receded half way up the hill without any more than firing a single random volley. Here my skirmishers looked back for support, and seeing it was not coming, slowly fell back to the crest of the hill in front of my line, where they commenced and kept up during the entire day and night following a most destructive fire upon the enemy, who had returned to complete his works and mount his batteries. At the very moment when the gallant Second Michigan Regiment (my skirmishers) were entering the enemy's lines, I received an order to halt where I was, as General Sherman said we had already advanced further than he intended we should at the time, as the right of the investing army had not yet got sufficiently forward. So I rested where I was. I had no doubt then, nor have I now, that if that order had not arrived at that moment, in twenty minutes the First Division would have been in the city, or at least held the heights that command it. To all intents and purposes, practical opposition to our advance was at an end at that point.

During the day and succeeding night the enemy succeeded in perfecting his rifle-pits and batteries, so that by the morning of the 12th his works were formidable, indeed, and about 8 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, the First Division was relieved by the Second Division, and I withdrew my command to the rear and in support of Edwards' battery, which was our most advanced battery on the whole line.

During the day and night of the 11th, the Second Regiment Michigan Volunteers sustained the hottest skirmishing fire I have ever witnessed, which they returned with telling effect, as was afterward well ascertained. Indeed, so far as that regiment was concerned, it was a battle.

The gallant regiment sustained for twenty hours a continuous fire of infantry and artillery, and repulsed several attempts of the enemy to charge on them.

The accompanying official list of casualties will speak for the truth of the above tribute of just praise.

During the afternoon and night of the 11th and the morning of the 12th, the entire line in reserve in the woods to rear of the line of skirmishers was enfiladed by the enemy's batteries, throwing solid shot, shell, grape and canister, from heavy guns put into battery during the day and night.

During the afternoon of the 12th, General Welch called on me for a regiment to proceed up the Canton road for the purpose of protecting our rear and left

flank from a threatened attack from the enemy's cavalry, who were reported in force in that direction.

I sent the One Hundredth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Dawson commanding, and the regiment remained on that duty until it rejoined the command on the 17th, on the march up Pearl River.

On the 14th and 15th, 1,200 men of this command, with a like number from Colonel Bowman's brigade, relieved the Second Division in front, having, during the intervening two days been on duty as picket, in support of Edwards' battery, or on fatigue.

On the 16th, a general demonstration was made all along the line of our army, and this command was in position for some hours, but the object of the demonstration having been accomplished, I returned to my old position, after having sent the Seventy-ninth Regiment New York Volunteers to make a reconnaissance to our left, along the Pearl River, which was most satisfactorily done. During the middle of the night of the 16th, the enemy evacuated Jackson, and the period of active operations in the field was at a close.

* * * * *

I have the honor to report as above,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL LEASURE,
Colonel Commanding Brigade.

Captain George A. Hicks,
Assistant Adjutant General.

APPENDIX "D."

EAST TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN, 1863.

- I. Report of Major General A. E. Burnside, Commanding Army.
Action at Blue Springs, October 10, 1863.
Extract from report of Captain O. M. Poe.
- II. Report of Brigadier General Edward Ferrero, Commanding Division,
November 14 to December 6, 1863.
- III. Report of Colonel William Humphrey, Commanding Brigade.
November 14 to December 6, 1863.
- IV. Report of Major Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Regiment, November
November 14 to November 21, 1863.
- V. Report of Major Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Regiment.
Assault on Fort Sanders.
- VI. List of Casualties, November 17 to December 4.
- VII. Order of General Burnside Congratulating Troops.
- VIII. Extracts from Report of General L. McLaws, Commanding Confederate
Column.
- IX. Order of General Burnside, Farewell to Army of Ohio.
- X. Order of Major General J. G. Foster, Assuming Command.
- XI. Report of Brigadier General Edward Ferrero, Commanding Division.
From Blain's Cross Roads to Erin's Station.

(Official Records, Vol. XXX, Part 2, Serial 51, Page 551.)

REPORT OF MAJOR GENERAL AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO.

Knoxville, Tenn., October 17, 1863, 10 p. m.
(Received 1 a. m., 19th).

* * * * *

(Battle of Blue Springs.)

I now determined to push our advance further up the valley and for that purpose sent the Ninth Corps, under Brigadier General R. B. Potter, together with all the cavalry (excepting Byrd's and Wolford's brigades), under General Shackelford, in that direction; they were joined by a division of General Willcox's at Bull's Gap on the 8th.

Colonel Hoskins' brigade, which was at Morristown, was ordered to report to

General Willeox. I left Knoxville on the morning of the 9th and overtook our forces on the same day at Bull's Gap.

On the following morning the advance was ordered, and at Blue Springs, midway between Bull's Gap and Greenville, the enemy were found, posted in a heavy force and in a strong position, between the wagon road and railroad to Greenville. Our cavalry occupied him with skirmishing until late in the afternoon. Colonel Foster's brigade was sent around to the rear of the enemy, with instructions to establish himself on the line over which he would be obliged to retreat, at a point near Rheatown. It was not desirable to press the enemy until Colonel Foster had time to reach this point. I directed Captain Poe (my chief engineer) to make a reconnaissance of the enemy's position with a view to making the attack at the proper time. The ground was selected upon which the attacking force was to be formed, and at half past 3 o'clock, believing sufficient time had been given to Colonel Foster to reach the desired point, I ordered General Potter to move up his command and endeavor to break through the center of the enemy's line. By 5 p. m. he had formed General Ferrero's division for the attack. When the order to advance was given, this division moved forward in the most dashing manner, driving the enemy from his first line.

During the night he retreated, and we pursued early in the morning, driving him again beyond the Watauga River, beyond which point our cavalry was directed to hold him. Colonel Foster's brigade, which had been sent to cut off his retreat, met with serious difficulties in the way of rough roads, so that he did not reach the point on the enemy's line of retreat in time to make the necessary preparations to check him until our pursuing forces came up. * * *

The Ninth Corps returned to Knoxville.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. BURNSIDE,

Late Major General.

Adjutant General U. S. Army,

Washington, D. C.

(Official Records, Vol. XXX, Part 2, Serial 51, Page 567.)

REPORTS OF CAPTAIN ORLANDO M. POE, U. S. CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Engineer's Office, Army of the Ohio,
Knoxville, Tenn., October 1, 1863.

* * * * *

Until the 9th of October, I remained in Knoxville, superintending the work at that point. On the morning of the 9th, the general commanding and staff started for Bull's Gap.

On the morning of the 10th, an advance was made toward Greenville. The enemy was encountered, posted on the high ground east of Blue Springs, and be-

tween the Greenville road and the railroad and offered a stubborn resistance to our cavalry, holding them in check for some hours.

By direction of the major general commanding, I made a reconnaissance to ascertain the position of the enemy's line and to determine upon the proper point and manner of attack. The reconnaissance was made very leisurely, as it was my understanding that it was desirable that the enemy should continue to occupy the position he then held until a brigade of cavalry under command of Colonel Foster, which had been detached to pass the enemy's rear, had reached a certain point.

After having passed over a greater part of the line occupied by our skirmishers, I decided that the best attack could be made directly in front, and that, owing to the broken nature of the ground our lines could be best formed by moving the troops by the right flank, in column of fours, from the Greenville road, near the left of our line of skirmishers, immediately in rear of that line, toward the right, until ground enough had been passed over to admit the line of battle, and to form by simply facing to the front; the troops would then be in position to attack. I should have stated that this entire movement could be made under cover of the ridge occupied by our skirmishers, and entirely out of sight of the enemy. My recommendations being nearly, if not altogether, in accordance with opinions which had been formed by the general commanding, were at once adopted, and the necessary orders given to carry them into effect. The attack was gallantly made and was eminently successful, the enemy being driven entirely from his position in advance to that occupied by his reserves. It was now quite dark, and everything was prepared to dislodge him from the latter, early in the morning, by which time Colonel Foster was expected to be in the main road east of Greenville and directly in the enemy's rear, a position he did reach before daybreak. The enemy, having had information of this movement, retreated long before daylight from our front, and attacking Foster, succeeded in pushing him from their line of retreat and making good their escape. * * *

ORLANDO M. POE,

Captain U. S. Engineers, Chief Engineer, Army of the Ohio.
Major General Ambrose E. Burnside,
Commanding Army of the Ohio.

KNOXVILLE CAMPAIGN.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 1, Page 349.)

REPORT OF BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD FERRERO, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING FIRST DIVISION.

Headquarters First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
Erin's Station, East Tenn., February 5, 1864.

Sir—I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of my command from the 14th of November to the 6th of December, 1863.

In accordance with instructions received from Major General Burnside, I moved my command on the morning of the 14th of November from Lenoir's Station (at 11 a. m.) toward Loudon, for the purpose of ascertaining at what point on the Holston River Longstreet's forces were crossing.

On reaching the ruins of the Loudon bridge, I was informed that the enemy were laying a pontoon bridge at Huff's Ferry, a distance of three and one-half miles from Loudon. I marched in the direction of said ferry, and soon came upon the enemy's pickets. Halting my command and reporting same to general commanding, received instructions to support General White's command, who had been assigned to drive in the enemy's pickets, which he did. Following up his command until we were one mile from the ferry, I took position on his right, covering the main road leading from the Ferry. It now became too dark and stormy for further operations, so I ordered the command to rest for the night on their arms. At 10 p. m., I received an order to report in person to Major General Burnside's headquarters, where after a council was held, it was determined to fall back slowly toward Lenoir's Station, so as to draw the enemy over the river and keep him engaged while other important movements were being carried out by the army in middle Tennessee. In accordance with this plan, on the 15th, left Huff's Ferry at 4 a. m., having the advance. The roads were in a fearful condition, it having rained all night quite heavily. It became almost impossible to move the artillery, although some pieces had sixteen horses, yet they were unable to get up the hill without the assistance of the men. I there-upon detailed a regiment of infantry to each piece, and by this means reached Lenoir's Station at 1 p. m., without sustaining any loss. I immediately placed my troops in position to cover the approach of the enemy from the Kingston road, Colonel Morrison's brigade in advance, extending from the Kingston road on his right to the Loudon road on his left, forming a semi-circle; Colonel Humphrey's brigade to the right of the Kingston road, connecting with General White's command; Colonel Christ's brigade and Buckley's battery in reserve; Roemer's battery in position on the right and left of the Kingston road. I had hardly completed the above disposition of my troops, when the enemy attacked my line in force, but were repulsed by Colonel Morrison's brigade and Roemer's battery. Remained in this position during the night, the enemy making several attacks on my picket line with the intention of driving them in, but without avail.

I am indebted to Colonel Morrison, commanding First Brigade, for his valuable services, and to his command for their stubborn resistance of the enemy's advance, outnumbering them by thousands.

It having been decided during the night of the 15th, to retreat and make a stand at Campbell's Station, I was assigned to bring up the rear with my command, and destroy all property that could not be transported. A large number of wagons, utensils, ammunition and baggage belonging to the Twenty-third Corps was destroyed, the mules having been taken to assist in drawing the artillery of the army, the roads being in such condition as to render it necessary to attach from 20 to 24 animals to each piece to enable us to move.

I ordered Colonel Humphrey, commanding Third Brigade, and a section of

Roemer's battery to cover the rear, drawing in our skirmishers, and retiring at daylight in the face of the enemy. On the 16th of November, marched toward Campbell's Station, halting from time to time so as to check the enemy's advance while the troops were getting into position for battle at the station. Reached the forks of the Kingston road at 10 a. m., making a junction with Colonel Hartranft's command, when the enemy charged upon our lines and were met with a stubborn resistance and driven back, our forces gaining ground.

At this victorious moment, received orders from the commanding general to fall back to a position at Campbell's Station, where the troops were formed in line prepared to give the enemy battle, retiring under fire, closely pursued by the enemy.

Colonel Humphrey is entitled to great praise for the able manner in which he covered the retreat, pursued by an overwhelming force attacking him at every point, his command behaved with great gallantry, checking the enemy, thereby giving our forces time to select and get into position for a general engagement.

Position of my command at Campbell's Station was as follows: Colonel Christ, commanding Second Brigade, on the right of the road; Colonel Humphrey, commanding Third Brigade, on the right of Colonel Christ; Colonel Morrison, commanding First Brigade, supporting batteries; Captain Buckley's battery of light twelve-pounders, in position commanding the right flank; Captain Roemer's battery, the front. The enemy attacked our lines in force with infantry and artillery, but were repulsed at every point.

I have to state that never did troops maneuver so beautifully and with such precision as during the engagement; changing positions several times under fire, it seemed more like a drill for field movements than otherwise; brigades moving forward to relieve each other, others retiring, having exhausted their ammunition; changes of front, passing of defiles, were executed by men and officers, so as to draw forth exclamation of the highest praise by those who were so fortunate as to behold their movements.

Colonel Christ, in command of the Second Brigade, executed movements with his command on the field which entitles him to the highest encomiums for ability and gallantry as a brigade commander.

The losses up to this time were quite heavy for my command, including the engagement at the forks of the road, but the enemy must have suffered very severely, as they advanced their lines against a murderous fire from our forces, compelling them to fall back, which must have told effectually upon their lines. They did not attempt to advance again, but devoted themselves to shelling our position with their batteries, and endeavoring to flank us with their infantry. At 5 p. m. was ordered to meet the general commanding, and after consultation it was decided to fall back to Knoxville. I was assigned the advance, and accordingly withdrew my command from the field and took up the line of march, reaching Knoxville at 12 o'clock the same night.

* * * * *

November 20, the enemy erected several batteries on my northwest front, directly opposite Fort Sanders. The enemy occupying a dwelling on the Kingston road, about 1,000 yards distant from the fort, doing material damage to my line

of skirmishers, I determined to obtain possession and destroy same. I accordingly directed Colonel Humphrey, commanding Third Brigade, to detail a regiment to proceed, under cover of the night, to dislodge the enemy from said house, and to destroy the same by fire.

The Seventeenth Michigan Volunteers, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Comstock was selected. They made the sortie at 8 p. m. and successfully accomplished their mission. On returning, the enemy opened a severe artillery fire, with but slight injury to the regiment. A number of buildings in front of the Second Brigade were also destroyed.

* * * * * * * * *

November 24, the enemy having dug rifle-pits within 500 yards of Fort Sanders, received instructions to make a sortie with a regiment and drive the enemy's sharpshooters from the position.

I ordered Colonel Humphrey, commanding Third Brigade, to detail a regiment for the duty. He accordingly sent the Second Michigan Volunteers.

They gallantly charged the enemy's pits and drove them out, but were compelled to fall back after having held their newly gained ground for an hour, which resulted in a severe loss of four killed, sixty wounded and twenty-four missing.

The enemy were discovered on the heights on the opposite side of the river (Holston), their position commanding Fort Sanders. Erected traverses of cotton during the night to protect the gunners.

November 25, 26 and 27, nothing of importance occurred; usual amount of skirmishing; repairing damages and otherwise strengthening our position. At 11 o'clock on the night of the 28th the enemy commenced driving in my skirmishers, and by 12:30 had driven them all in from the Kingston road to the right of my line. An attack evidently was near at hand, but owing to the darkness of the night, the position and movements of the enemy could not be seen. I posted vedettes as far as practicable in front of the rifle-pits, and during the balance of the night, at frequent periods ordered the batteries to throw shells in different directions to do the enemy as much damage and to cause them as much annoyance as lay in my power.

On the morning of the 29th, at daylight, the expected attack took place. The enemy poured out of the woods in front of the northwest salient of the fort, and with wild cheers advanced at a run for that salient.

The telegraph wire caused many to fall, but the main body came on while three guns of Benjamin's battery, one of Roemer's, and one of Buckley's were pouring in a destructive fire of grape, and the Seventy-ninth New York Volunteers a deadly shower of musketry upon the advancing column. Forcing their way through the abatis they rushed up to the ditch of the fort, which at that point, being quite deep, caused a momentary hesitation.

In a moment, however, the ditch was filled with the enemy, and the outer slope of the parapet was covered with them, but the musketry fire was so intense and steady that but few dared show their heads.

One rebel with a flag endeavored to approach the embrasure, when Sergeant Frank Judge, Company D, Seventy-ninth New York Volunteers, rushed out of

the embrasure under the hottest fire, seized him by the collar and dragged him with his flag into the fort. Having no hand grenades, Lieutenant Benjamin ignited some time-fuse shells and threw them with his own hand over the parapet into the ditch among the enemy, causing great destruction among them.

I now ordered five companies of the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts Volunteers and two companies of the Twentieth Michigan Volunteers into the fort to assist the Seventy-ninth New York Volunteers.

They obeyed the order with alacrity, and taking the positions assigned them, rendered valuable aid in keeping the enemy out of the fort. Learning that the ditch was full of the enemy, I ordered one company of the Second Michigan Volunteers to advance into the ditch from the right, and one company of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania Volunteers from the left of the fort. This was instantly carried out and their advance was so determined that those in the ditch at once surrendered, and being ordered into the fort, came pouring in through the embrasures and gave themselves up. Nearly 200 were captured in this manner, together with two other flags.

In the meantime, the column of the enemy in front of the fort, being halted by the delay caused by their comrades in the ditch, were discharging an incessant but harmless fire of musketry into the air, ill getting confused and demoralized by the terrible fire which was poured into them from the fort, they wavered, then broke and ran in disorder back to the woods. Those nearest the fort being called on to surrender, came in through the embrasures.

Two hundred and fifty prisoners and 3 flags were captured from the enemy in this attack.

I at once ordered the skirmishers to advance, which they did, and took their positions on the line which was occupied by their reserves the day before. After this, up to the time the enemy retreated, nothing but the usual skirmish fire took place, and that was not as annoying as usual. In anticipation, however, of another night attack, I ordered balls of wick, soaked in turpentine and fagots of hard pine coated with pitch to be placed at different points on the skirmish line, to be ignited in case of an alarm.

On the morning of the 5th of December, at 1 o'clock, I advanced vedettes from the skirmish line, and the pits of the enemy were found empty. When daylight appeared, no rebels were to be seen from Fort Sanders.

I cannot speak too highly of the behavior of the officers and men of my command during the past twenty-one days. In that time all the qualities embodied in the true soldier have been called into action and nobly have they stood the test.

On a scanty allowance of meat and coarse meal, without any other drink than cold water, they have performed these days and nights of incessant labor and watchfulness without a murmur.

In the officers that have been killed I have lost brave and valuable soldiers.

Colonel W. H. Smith, Twentieth Michigan Volunteers, was shot through the head and instantly killed, while leading his regiment into the fight at Campbell's Station.

* * * * *

Captain Wiltsie, Twentieth Michigan Volunteers; Lieutenant Billingsley, Seventeenth Michigan Volunteers; Lieutenants Noble, Galpin and Zoellner, Second Michigan Volunteers, and Lieutenant Holmes, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers, were all killed while in the performance of their duties. * * *

The total number of killed, wounded and missing, from November 14 to December 6, was 482, a detailed report of which has already been forwarded.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDW. FERRERO,

Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel N. Bowen,
Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 1, Page 361.)

REPORT OF COLONEL WILLIAM HUMPHREY, SECOND MICHIGAN INFANTRY, COMMANDING THIRD BRIGADE.

Headquarters, Third Brigade, First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
Near Knoxville, Tenn., December 6, 1863.

Sir—I have the honor to transmit the following report of the operations of my command from the morning of November 14 to the morning of December 5:

November 14—On the morning of November 14, I received orders from division headquarters to have my command ready to move from its camp near Lenoir's at an early hour. The wagons were to be loaded and formed in train on the road, and headed toward Knoxville, the trains being under charge of Captain Curtin. The order was promptly complied with and at daylight the brigade was ready to move.

At 9 a. m., I received orders to send one regiment to report to Captain Curtin, as a guard for the train. I sent the One Hundredth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Dawson, commanding.

At 12 m., I received orders to move the brigades on the road toward Loudon, following Roemer's battery. In this order we marched to Huff's Ferry, five miles below Loudon, where we bivouacked for the night.

November 15—At 4 a. m., the 15th, I was ordered to follow in the rear of Roemer's battery back on the road toward Lenoir's Station. We reached the station about 12 m. and halted between the railroad and river, awaiting orders.

At 2 p. m., by order from division headquarters, I sent the Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Smith commanding, back on the Loudon road to where the Kingston telegraph road leaves it toward the right, with instructions to remain in that position, until the Second Division should pass through to the rear, then to report back to the brigade. Colonel Smith reported to me with his regiment at sunset, and was ordered at once to take position on the left of the First Brigade, connecting on the right with the Eighth Michigan, and his left resting on the railroad. Here the Twentieth Michigan remained until the line was withdrawn on the morning of the 16th.

At 4 p. m. (November 15), I was ordered to move the two remaining regiments of my command to the crest of the hill in front of Lenoir's on the Kingston road, to form in line on the right of the road, to throw out skirmishers to cover my front, and extend them to the right so as to connect at Lenoir's dam with the skirmishers of General White's division of the Twenty-third Corps. This disposition was made, and in this position I remained until 2 p. m. of the 16th, when I was ordered to withdraw my line, march back to the railroad and halt.

November 16, at 4 a. m., General Ferrero notified me that my command would form the rear guard of the army in the march of the day toward Knoxville, and one section of Roemer's battery was ordered to report to me for duty on the march. At daylight, the column having passed by far enough, I took up the line of march, moving leisurely along, halting and forming occasionally to allow the trains to get forward out of the way. The enemy did not get up with my rear, the Seventeenth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Comstock commanding, until the brigade had nearly crossed ——— Creek, when a sharp fire was suddenly opened on the Seventeenth, on both the rear and flank. The fire was promptly returned and the enemy checked until the rest of the command could be formed in line, when Colonel Comstock was ordered to withdraw and pass through to the rear of the line, and form on the left of the Twentieth Michigan, in order to check the enemy in his attempt to turn my left. As soon as he was in the position designated, I commenced moving my line to the rear, halting at every few rods, facing about, and checking the enemy, who was crowding on in strong force. Moving in this manner, I had succeeded in falling back to the rear of the woods beyond the large, open field in front of Campbell's Station.

Here I was ordered to make a stand and hold the enemy in check until some move in my rear should be completed, when a smart fight of half an hour's duration occurred.

The enemy made a strong effort to get around my left, and at one time had nearly succeeded. He had thrown back the Seventeenth in considerable confusion, and was crowding on as if sure of accomplishing his object. To defeat his move, I rode to the Seventeenth and ordered the regiment to charge at once, at the same time ordering the skirmishers from the Twentieth and Second Michigan to be thrown forward, with a yell to aid the Seventeenth. The charge was finely made, driving the enemy through the wood into the field beyond, and throwing his front line into considerable confusion. Before making this move on the enemy I had received orders to withdraw my line, and under (cover of the check) given the enemy by this repulse, I fell back unmolested to the position ordered, on the extreme right of the front line, at the battle of Campbell's Station. I held my position here, receiving and returning quite a smart fire, until half past one, when I was relieved by Colonel Christ, with the Second Brigade, and moved back into the shallow ravine just in the rear of the town. Two hours later, I moved back to the rear of the batteries then being put into position, on the right of the road.

Thence at dark, I fell into column to the rear of Benjamin's battery and marched to this place, where we arrived between 4 and 5 a. m. of the 17th.

The men were allowed to rest until 9 a. m., when I was ordered to move to a

position joining on the right the Second Brigade and my left covering the northern front of Fort Sanders. Just as I had established my line here, Lieutenant Colonel Dawson reported to me with seven companies of his command (the other three companies having reported at Campbell's Station). During the afternoon I threw a rifle pit along the whole front of my command reaching from the western salient of the fort on the left to Colonel Christ's line on the right.

During the 18th, the men were kept at work strengthening our position by felling timber and spreading the loose brush that had been thrown into heaps over the ground along the front of the line.

At 12 m., on the 19th, the cavalry had all been withdrawn from the front, and I was ordered to form a strong picket line along the line of the railroad to the wood, thence across the Kingston road. The right of the line was afterward thrown forward so as to take a direction nearly perpendicular to the railroad. On the afternoon of the 20th, General Ferrero ordered me to send out a regiment in the night—coming home at such hour as I might choose—to burn a large brick house situated on the Kingston road and occupied by the enemy's picket reserve. I accordingly ordered the Seventeenth Michigan to burn the house at 9 p. m., which the regiment succeeded in doing with a loss of but two killed.

The 21st was a rainy day, and but little was done by the command except to watch the enemy.

November 22—Moved the One Hundredth Pennsylvania round to the left into a pit running from the fort to the Kingston road.

At daylight, on the morning of the 24th, General Ferrero ordered me to send out one regiment to take and hold, if possible, a line of light rifle-pits thrown up by the enemy on the night of the 22d. Major Byington was ordered by me to take the Second Michigan and carry out the instructions I had received from the general. He carried the pit and held it until just one-half the number that he had taken out with him were either killed or wounded, when a large force of the enemy charging the pit, he ordered the regiment to fall back to its camp.

The 25th, 26th and 27th were comparatively quiet days, and until the evening of the 28th, when at 11 p. m. a general advance was made by the enemy's line, and the pickets in my front, together with those of the brigade on my right and left, were driven in, nearly to the works.

At daylight of the 29th an assault was made by the enemy on the western salient of Fort Sanders. When the assault was made, there was of my command two companies of the Twentieth Michigan and one of the One Hundredth Pennsylvania within the fort, and four companies of the Second Michigan in the ditch across the southwestern front of the fort. These companies maintained their position in the ditch until the enemy's column reached it, then retired within the fort and aided in repelling the assault. A truce suspended for the remainder of the day any further operations.

The regiments were kept, the 30th, within their pits ready for an anticipated attack from the enemy, but none was made.

December 1, 2, 3 and 4—With the exception of picket firing these were very quiet days.

December 5—This morning the enemy had disappeared from my front, and

during the day the men passed beyond our lines and into the deserted camps of the enemy; found and brought in as prisoners some 70 or 80 who had failed to get away with their retreating comrades.

Here ends the operations of my command, initiated by the advance of the army from Lenoir's, followed by the falling back of the army from Lenoir's, followed by the falling back of the army to Campbell's Station; a battle at this point, thence a severe night march to Knoxville, through the siege of the latter place, and closing with the raising of the siege during the nights of December 4 and 5. The service performed was extremely severe, and the loss in officers and men heavy, as shown by the following table:

Command.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Second Michigan:				
Officers.....	2	5	.....	7
Enlisted men.....	25	78	21	124
One-Hundredth Pennsylvania:				
Officers.....	.....	1	.....	1
Enlisted men.....	4	10	.....	14
Twentieth Michigan:				
Officers.....	1	4	.....	5
Enlisted men.....	4	41	17	62
Seventeenth Michigan:				
Officers.....	2	2	1	5
Enlisted men.....	12	46	26	84
Aggregate.....				302

For details of the part taken by the several regiments of my command in the operations of the twenty-one days from November 14 to December 5, inclusive,

I refer you to the reports of regimental commanders, copies of which are forwarded with this report.

In closing you will allow me to add that it was the fortune of the Third Brigade to be in the thickest of all this conflict, as its long list of casualties attests, and whether in covering a retreat, in making a night attack, in meeting an assault, or in the charge, all, both officers and men, have performed the duties assigned them with the most determined bravery, and have proved themselves reliable in any emergency.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HUMPHREY,
Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Captain George A. Hicks,
Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 1, Page 369.)

REPORTS OF MAJOR BRYON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

Hdqrs. Twentieth Michigan Infantry.
Fortifications before Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 21, 1863.

Sir—In accordance with orders from brigade headquarters of this date, I have the honor to forward the following report of operations of this command from the time it left Lenoir's Station till it came within these fortifications.

On Saturday, November 14, we broke camp at Lenoir's at daylight and about noon, in common with the remainder of the division, took up the line of march to Huff's Ferry, where we arrived at about dark the same night, a distance of about 10 miles. That night we slept upon our arms and the men suffered considerably from the cold and rain.

Before daylight the next morning the regiment was again upon the road, and arrived again at Lenoir's at about noon, after a very tiresome march, on account of the bad condition of the road from the recent rains.

At about 2 p. m. this regiment was ordered to return about three miles upon the Loudon road to the point where the Telegraph road turns off toward Kingston, and hold the forks of the roads until the Second Division should have passed us and then fall back covering them.

The regiment had nearly reached the forks of the roads when it was overtaken by an aide from Brigadier General Potter, commanding Ninth Army Corps, who ordered it back to the point where the railroad and highway separate, one mile from Lenoir's, where we took up a position on a slight eminence and formed in line of battle across the highway and railroad.

The command remained here until the Second Division had passed and the stragglers had ceased to come in. when we moved to the front and took a position in line with the remainder of the brigade on the Kingston road. We had scarcely stacked arms when we were ordered again to the Loudon road to protect the left flank. By direction of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, then commanding, I deployed four companies as skirmishers, their right connecting with the Eighth Michigan Infantry on the crest of the hill, and their left resting upon the railroad about three-fourths of a mile from the station. The remaining six companies were held in reserve, and all lay upon their arms without sleeping or taking off their knapsacks.

Between the hours of 3 and 4 a. m. Monday, November 16, the regiment was ordered in, and after assembling the skirmishers it rejoined the brigade near the station, where it lay until daylight. Meanwhile Company C was detailed to assist in destroying the trains of the Twenty-third Army Corps. It may be proper here to state that most of the baggage of the officers of the regiment was destroyed. By whose order I am not aware.

The Third Brigade being the rear guard, the position of the regiment was next to the rear. We had scarcely left the station when skirmishing commenced,

and the enemy followed us closely, keeping most of the time in sight. No actual collision occurred until we reached a point about a mile from the junction of the Kingston with the Loudon road. Here a stand was made, the Twentieth being in line upon a hill to the left of the road, supporting a piece of artillery. Company B, Captain C. T. Allen, which Company had hitherto been acting as flankers, was now deployed as skirmishers to the right of the road in the woods. After a brief stand at this point the regiment was ordered back, and moved back by the left flank and again took position to the left of the road on the high hill, the Second Michigan Infantry being on the right of the road, supporting a piece of artillery. At this point Company B retook its place in line, and Company D, Captain C. B. Grant, was ordered to the front as skirmishers, to cover the retreat of the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry, now falling back after a heavy skirmish.

When the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry had passed around our left flank and regained the road, the regiment again fell back gradually, the skirmishers covering the movement, until it gained the edge of a piece of woods and formed, its right resting on the road, and its left supported by the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry, which by this time had reformed on our left. The enemy advanced rapidly and attempted to outflank our left. The line had scarcely been formed when the regiment met its greatest loss in the death of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, commanding. He fell pierced through the brain by a bullet, and expired instantly, without a word or a groan, while bravely encouraging the men and setting them an example of coolness and intrepidity. I cannot forbear here to testify to his efficiency as an officer, his faithfulness and courage as a soldier, and his worth as a man.

On the fall of Lieutenant Colonel Smith the undersigned immediately assumed command. Notwithstanding the shock produced by the fall of their leader the regiment did not waver for a moment but seemed to rally with new vigor and increased steadiness. The men were falling fast, when the regiment was again ordered back. We now fell back to near the junction of the Kingston and Loudon roads, when the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry, being ordered to charge and drive back the enemy's skirmishers, the three left companies of the Twentieth, supposing the order to be general, charged with them and did good service. We now fell back from the woods through a wide, open field, receiving a volley from the rebel lines at long range.

We took position on the right of the road, a short distance in front of the village of Campbell's Station, and Company D retook its place in line, and a detail of two from each company, under Lieutenant Blood, Company D, was made to relieve them. Here we remained exposed to a galling flank fire, after being constantly under fire for four hours.

After lying in reserve until near night, we took a new position in rear of Campbell's Station, and at dark took up a line of march to this place, which we reached at about 5 a. m. on the morning of the 17th, exceedingly worn-out, weary, and yet ready for the labors before us, having marched 24 miles and been under fire eight hours out of the twenty-four.

Of the conduct and fate of Lieutenant Colonel Smith I have already spoken,

and it is only needful to say that every officer and man, so far as I observed, did his whole duty. The company commanders report that the conduct of their men was so uniformly good that they cannot specify instances. I will only speak of Captain G. C. Barnes, who assisted me in command of the regiment, who was at all times prompt and efficient and Captain Grant and Lieutenant Blood, who commanded the skirmishers, who exposed themselves freely and handled their men well.

I append hereto a list of casualties, and may add that since our arrival in the fortifications we have lost one officer and one man wounded, Captain F. Porter, Company E, and Private W. Filkins, Company B.

Notwithstanding the hardships endured, the spirits and health of the men are good, and they are still ready to undergo whatever may be necessary to secure the success of our arms.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BRYON M. CUTCHEON,

Major, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Infantry.

Lieut. B. H. BERRY,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

Headquarters Twentieth Michigan Infantry,
Fort Sanders, Knoxville, East Tenn., December 2, 1863.

Lieutenant—In accordance with circular of this date from brigade headquarters, I have the honor to forward the following report of the part taken in the action of the night of the 28th and morning of the 29th ultimo by this command:

At the time of the first attack, Lieutenant C. S. Wortley, Company K, of this regiment, was on picket with 35 men and 5 non-commissioned officers in front of the southwest salient of the fort. When the attack was first made the men discharged their pieces but were overpowered by numbers and obliged to fall back upon the reserve, which in turn also was forced back. About a dozen men came back to the regiment, of whom three were slightly wounded; all but one I sent back to their posts. When the picket line was re-established Lieutenant Wortley succeeded in collecting 27 of his men, and established them upon the new line. Among the missing was a large proportion of non-commissioned officers.

Immediately after the attack in front of the fort one was also made on that part of the line in front of this regiment, which lies on the farther side of the railroad. Though nothing could be seen, the command "Forward to the Railroad" was distinctly heard from the rebel officers. Our men stood their ground but a short time, and fell back across the railroad. Immediately the firing ceased I ordered several men at different points along the line to make their way carefully to the railroad and report the condition of affairs. They soon returned and reported that they had been to the railroad; that there was no enemy on this side, but that there seemed to be about a regiment on the other side, intrenching along the bank of the railroad. This I reported to the Colonel

commanding the brigade, who directed me to throw forward vedettes to the railroad, with picks and spades, and there intrench themselves.

Accordingly I detailed 20 men, under charge of Lieutenant Lounsberry, Company I, who deployed his men in front of the works and moved forward to the railroad. Within three rods of the latter they were met by a heavy volley from a line of skirmishers which had crossed the railroad. Lieutenant Lounsberry with his men returned the fire and fell back a few rods to the brow of the hill, with the loss of one man severely wounded, and one missing, supposed to be wounded and captured. Lieutenant Lounsberry then intrenched himself on the brow of the hill, which position he held the remainder of the night, and during the fight of the morning.

At the time the pickets were driven in from beyond the railroad, one piece of the Second New York Artillery was taken from the third redoubt and fired several times over the heads of the men in the rifle-pits. One of the shells exploded at the muzzle of the gun, instantly killing Corporal Haight, of Company H, and wounding (probably mortally) Private Van Atter, Company K. We were also annoyed by shells from the enemy's battery on the south side of the river. One of these struck in the rifle-pit, killing one man and wounding another. Immediately after the first attack, by orders from brigade headquarters, Company C, was sent into the fort and took position in the salient near General Ferrero's headquarters. There they remained, doing excellent service during the subsequent engagement. When the final attack was made at daylight, a part of the pickets, under Lieutenant Wortley, also took position in the fort and fought bravely. In consequence of the lay of the ground it was impossible for any of our line to the right of the first redoubt to see the enemy, but Companies A, and D on the left, occupying the right wing of the fort, had an excellent position, commanding the whole of the west face of the fort. They kept up a rapid and effectual fire throughout the fight, firing nearly forty rounds to the man.

Being myself at the center of the regiment, I did not witness the conduct of the men, but it is reported by the officers in charge to have been excellent: every man stood to his post and behaved with the utmost activity and gallantry. I append hereto a list of our losses.

Recapitulation: Killed, 2; wounded, 8; missing, 13. Total 23.

It may be proper for me here to state that Captain W. D. Wiltsie and Private Sevy, Company E, wounded in the pits on the 24th and 25 ultimo, died of their wounds on the 28th.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

BRYON M. CUTCHEON,

Major, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Infantry.

Lieut. B. H. BERRY,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 1, Page 290.)

LIST OF CASUALTIES, NOVEMBER 17 TO DECEMBER 4.

Third Brigade. Col. William Humphrey.	Killed.		Wounded.		Captured or missing.		Aggregate.
	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Officers.	Enlisted men.	
Second Michigan.....	2	8	4	63	.....	16	93
Seventeenth Michigan.....	2	.....	.....	10	.....	18	31
Twentieth Michigan.....	.....	3	3	13	.....	12	30
One-Hundredth Pennsylvania.....	.....	3	1	8	.....	.....	12
Totals.....	.....	14	8	94	.....	46	166

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 1, Page 280.)

ORDER OF MAJOR GENERAL BURNSIDE, CONGRATULATING
TROOPS.General Field Orders,
No. 33.Hdqrs. Army of the Ohio.
In the field, November 30, 1863.

The brilliant events of the 29th instant, so successful to our arms, seem to present a fitting occasion for the commanding general to thank his army for their conduct through the severe experience of the past seventeen days, to assure them of the important bearing it has had on the campaign in the West, and to give them the news of the great victory gained by General Grant, toward which their fortitude and bravery have in a high degree contributed.

In every fight in which they have been engaged, and recently in those near Knoxville, at Loudon and Campbell's Station, and finally around the defenses on both sides of the river, while on the march and in cold and in hunger, they have everywhere shown a spirit which has given to the Army of the Ohio a name second to none.

By holding in check a powerful body of the enemy, they have seriously weakened the rebel army under Bragg, which has been completely defeated by General Grant, and at the latest accounts was in full retreat for Dalton, closely pursued by him, with the loss of 6,000 prisoners, 52 pieces of artillery and 12 stand of colors.

For this great and practical result, toward which the Army of the Ohio has done so much, the commanding General congratulates them, and with the fullest reliance on their patience and courage in the dangers they have yet to

meet, looks forward with confidence, under the blessing of Almighty God, to a successful close of the campaign.

By Command of Major General Burnside:

LEWIS RICHMOND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 1, Page 489.)

EXTRACT, FROM REPORT OF GENERAL McLAWS.

Sparta, Ga., April 19, 1864.

* * * * *

Before four o'clock on the morning of the 29th, I went around with my staff to superintend the execution of my orders for the assault. It was evident to me that the enemy were aware that one was intended, and I think it probable they knew where it was to be made, for while I was talking to Colonel Ruff on the railroad the enemy threw a shell, which burst over the woods just in rear of us through which Colonel Ruff's command (Wofford's brigade) was passing, assembling by regiments for the assault. I have since heard that the enemy were informed, and that during the night of the 28th they had been employed in pouring buckets of water over the parapets to render it difficult to ascend, the night being very cold. The commands being in position and in readiness, and the sharpshooters having been directed to open fire all along their lines as soon as it was light enough to aim, and I distributed my staff officers along the line, and rode over to Major Leyden's battery and to General Kershaw's line, and found Major Leyden—awaiting until it was light enough to see his elevators, and Kershaw's line ready, I gave Major Leyden orders to open fire while I was there, and rode toward the assaulting columns. As I went they could be seen advancing in fine style. I rode straight to Wofford's brigade, on the left, and as I approached the work, found the men falling back, the officers reporting it was impossible to mount the parapet, and that the brigade commander (Colonel Ruff) and his next in command (Colonel Thomas) had been killed and the next in command wounded. I rallied the brigade about 400 yards from the work, reformed the regiments in the order they went to the assault, notified them who was their brigade commander, and the regiments who commanded them, and then consulted with General Humphreys and Bryan; and finding it was useless to attempt to take the work, I reported to General Longstreet, and asked authority to withdraw my command. Permission was given and the main body was withdrawn, but the advanced line of pits was still held by sharpshooters. When it was seen that Wofford's brigade could not mount the parapet, General G. T. Anderson's brigade, of Hood's division, came rushing to the assault in the same place where my command had attempted it, but was repulsed at once and retired.

* * * * *

That most of the men were killed by a fire from the left of my line, over which I had no control, and that if I had had straw wherewith to fill up the ditch, as general Longstreet testified he expected me to have, it would have been set on fire by the hand grenades thrown over the parapet by the enemy, and my wounded in the ditch would have been burned to death. * * *

The main cause of failure was, however, the slipperiness of the parapet, upon which it was impossible for any large body of men to gain a foothold, and the severe fire from the north side of the fort, which drove the men from the most accessible point of ascent.

* * * * *

L. McLAWS,
Major General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 3, Page 384.)

General Field Orders,
No. 38.

Hdqrs. Army of the Ohio.
Knoxville, Tenn., December 11, 1863.

In obedience to orders from the War Department the commanding general this day resigns to Maj. Gen. John G. Foster, the command of the Army of the Ohio.

On severing the tie which has united him to this gallant Army he cannot express his deep personal feeling at parting from men brought near to him by their mutual experiences in the eventful scenes of the past campaign, and who have always, regardless of every privation and of every danger, cheerfully and faithfully performed their duty. Associated with many of their number from the earliest days of the war, he takes leave of this Army not only as soldiers to whose heroism many a victorious battle field bears witness, but as well-trying friends who in the darkest hours have never failed him. With the sincerest regret he leaves the department without the opportunity of personally bidding them farewell.

To the citizen soldiers of East Tennessee, who proved their loyalty in the trenches of Knoxville, he tenders his warmest thanks.

With the highest confidence in the patriotism and skill of the distinguished officer who succeeds him, with whom he has been long and intimately connected in the field, and who will be welcomed as their leader by those who served with him in the memorable campaign in North Carolina, and by all as one identified with some of the most brilliant events of the war, he transfers to him the command, assured that under his guidance the bright record of the Army of the Ohio will never grow dim.

By command of Major General Burnside.

LEWIS RICHMOND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXI, Part 3, Page 384.)

General Field Orders,
No. 39.

Hdqrs. Army of the Ohio.
Knoxville, Tenn., December 11th, 1863.

In compliance with the orders of the War Department, Major General John G. Foster, this day assumes the command of the Army of the Ohio. He accepts with pride a position which his predecessor has rendered illustrious. After a long period of unbroken friendship, strengthened by the intimate relations of active service with him in a campaign which is prominent in the history of the war, he can add to the general voice his tribute to the high worth and stainless name of the recent commander of the Army of the Ohio. The work he has so ably planned and vigorously conducted, it will be the aim of the commanding general to complete.

For the future of this command he has no fears. * * *

By Command of Major General Foster:

EDWARD E. POTTER,
Brigadier General and Chief of Staff.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXII, Part 1, Page 104.)

REPORT OF BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD FERRERO, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING FIRST DIVISION, NINTH CORPS.

Hdqrs. First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
Camp near Erin's Station, East Tenn., January 30, 1864.

Sir—I have the honor to submit the following report for the information of the commanding general:

According to instructions received I marched the Ninth Army Corps on the morning of the 16th instant at 9 a. m from Blain's Cross Roads to Strawberry Plains, where I received orders to encamp the command, with the exception of one brigade, which was ordered to take position on the south bank of the river Holston.

* * * * *

On the evening of the 20th, a detachment of the enemy made a dash on our pickets on the Danbridge road, but were promptly met and repulsed. During the evening, I received instructions to march the command across the bridge and leave a strong picket force to protect the men engaged in destroying the bridge. The command crossed at 9 p. m., and the bridge was destroyed during the night. The pickets were withdrawn at 10 o'clock the next morning crossing the river on a flat without molestation.

On the morning of the 21st, I ordered Colonel Morrison commanding First Brigade, to relieve troops of the Twenty-third Corps, stationed to cover the bridge. The Seventy-ninth New York Volunteers garrisoned the block house, and Lieutenant Gittings' battery was placed in a position commanding the

opposite approaches to the bridge, supported by the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers.

The Twentieth Michigan Volunteers were placed on the road leading to Blain's Cross Roads, picketing the river to the left. Colonel Pierce's brigade was stationed two miles below, guarding the fords to the right. Colonel Collins' brigade (Second Division) was held in reserve.

At about 11 a. m. the enemy made their appearance in force on the south bank of the river, placing six guns in position and opening a severe fire on my forces, evidently determined to dislodge them for the purpose of saving the bridge, which was in flames at the time. I ordered Lieutenant Gittings to open fire on the enemy, which he did vigorously, and was replied to by the enemy's batteries, but without any material damage to my command. This artillery duel was kept up for nearly four hours without cessation, when the enemy were compelled to abandon their position and retreat out of sight.

The bridge being completely destroyed I received instructions to move my command during the night of the 21st toward Knoxville.

The command moved at 3 a. m. of the 22d, Colonel Morrison bringing up the rear with his brigade. Two pieces of artillery having been left without transportation (belonging to another corps) and not wishing to leave or destroy them, I appealed to the men of my command, and they cheerfully manned the ropes and dragged the guns and limbers to within seven miles of Knoxville, when horses were obtained to take them the remainder of the distance.

At 12 m. on the 22d, I halted the command on the road within seven miles of Knoxville, when Colonel Morrison reported to me the enemy's cavalry following in his rear in force. I received instructions to take a position on the right of the road connecting with General Manson. Remaining in said position for some time and the enemy showing no disposition to attack us, I received instructions to continue my march toward Knoxville. I marched the command to within three and one-half miles of the city; again formed line of battle awaiting the attack of the enemy. They advanced their skirmishers quite boldly, and occupied a commanding crest a very short distance in front of my line, which would have proved destructive to my men, had they been allowed to remain. I accordingly ordered two companies of the Twenty-seventh Michigan Volunteers to charge and carry the crest, which they did in a most gallant manner, causing the enemy to make a most precipitate retreat.

Occupied the position during the night without further molestation from the enemy.

At daylight on the morning of the 23d, I ordered a company of the Twenty-seventh Michigan Volunteers to advance as skirmishers supported by the Second Maryland Volunteers. After having scoured the country for a distance of five miles, and not being able to find the enemy, rejoined the command, where we remained during that day and night.

On the morning of the 24th, I received instructions to march the command to some suitable camp within supporting distance of Knoxville. * * * *

Too much praise cannot be awarded to the men and officers for their patience

and endurance during the march from Strawberry Plains, dragging 2 pieces of
artillery a distance of 10 miles over rough, muddy roads, without a murmur.
* * * * *

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDW. FERRERO,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Capt. H. R. MIGHELS,
Assistant Adjutant General.

APPENDIX "E."

WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN, 1864.

- I. Extracts from Report of General O. B. Willcox, Commanding Division.
- II. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Brigade, May 4 to July 30.
- III. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Bryon M. Cutcheon, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Infantry, May 4 to August 7, 1864.
- IV. List of Casualties, Twentieth Michigan, May 4 to August 7, 1864.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXVI, Part 1, Serial 67, Page 941.)

REPORTS OF BRIGADIER GENERAL ORLANDO B. WILLCOX, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING THIRD DIVISION.

Hdqrs. Third Division, Ninth Army Corps.
Before Petersburg, Va., September 13, 1864.

Captain—As the full report of this division for the campaign is yet delayed by the brigade commanders not sending their own reports, I beg leave to furnish you with the following preliminary sketch of the operations of the Division:

* * * * *

(Page 943.) On the 9th of May, I started, under orders from corps headquarters, about 4 a. m for a point called Gate, where the Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania road crosses the Ny River, to take position, without orders to cross the river. Found the enemy's pickets one mile from the river, chased them back rapidly, seized the bridge, and crossed Christ's brigade, the Sixth Ohio, a new regiment, deployed as skirmishers. Planted my two batteries, Roemer's and Twitchell's, on the north side and took position on the crest of a slope on the opposite side, some 300 yards from the river, with left resting at one of the Beverly houses. The enemy opened upon me with a field battery, and charged first with a brigade of dismounted cavalry, and afterward with a brigade of Longstreet's corps. Meantime I moved over all of Hartranft's brigade, except the Second Michigan, and sent back for the First Division, which General Burnside had ordered up part way from Chancellorsville, to support me, but by 12 m., and before the First Division arrived the enemy's repeated assaults were effectually repulsed, and he retired behind a narrow strip of woods toward Spottsylvania Court House, which was distant about a mile from front, leaving 50 prisoners, included some wounded, in our hands. During the rest of the

day I crossed two brigades of the First Division, retaining one as a reserve and to guard the fords, and held the position without further annoyance, except from skirmishers. The Seventeenth Michigan, Colonel Luce; Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon; Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel Morrison, who was wounded; and Sixtieth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel McElroy, distinguished themselves in this affair, as well as Colonel Christ, commanding Second Brigade. Casualties: Killed and wounded, 167; missing, 21; aggregate, 188.

(Page 942.) June 2, the division moved to Bethesda Church. Observing that the First Division had left no pickets on the main road by which it had marched, I sent word of it to Major General Burnside, who directed me to send out pickets, and I ordered out the Twentieth Michigan. This regiment was not fairly posted, ere the enemy came down in force. The troops generally were not expecting or prepared for an attack, and the Twentieth Michigan bravely held the forks of the road until reinforced, and the troops were got into line fronting the enemy, when a fierce attack ensued, principally upon the First Division.

June 3, at Bethesda Church in the morning we advanced in line from our intrenchments toward the enemy, and drove him from the line he had captured on the first to within 75 yards at one point, to 300 yards at another of the enemy's main works. The Fifth Corps troops came up on my left after this advance was made by my division. The Second Division, of the Ninth Corps, was on my right, and equally engaged. Preparations were made for a final assault, which, however, was countermanded.

The enemy suffered very heavily and abandoned their ground during the night.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. B. WILLCOX,

Brigadier General Commanding.

Capt. J. C. YOUNGMAN,

Assistant Adjutant General.

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF GENERAL ORLANDO B. WILLCOX, COMMANDING THIRD DIVISION.

NINTH ARMY CORPS. (Campaign of 1864.)

(Official Records, Vol. XL, Part 1, Page 573.)

Besides the regiments already mentioned, I would respectfully notice the Eighth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Ely; the Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon, commanding, and the Twenty-seventh Michigan, Col. D. M. Fox. These regiments were always ready, brave, cool and stubborn in face of the enemy. The Fiftieth and Fifty-first Pennsylvania have also behaved like veterans, meeting with bloody losses without discouragement, and always fighting gallantly. The One Hundred and Ninth New York and Twenty-

fourth New York Cavalry, although new regiments, exhibited throughout the steadiness and bravery of old troops. Many of my bravest officers have fallen on the fields of brightest glory. Col. F. Graves, Eighth Michigan. * * * Majors Lewis and Belcher, of the Eighth Michigan; Barnes, of the Twentieth; Piper, of the First (Michigan) Sharpshooters; and Moody, of the Twenty-seventh (Michigan), have won a proud niche in the temple of martyrs for their country's salvation. To the zealous, brave and skillful Roemer, and his excellent battery, and Twitchell and his fine battery, is due the soldiers' best possession—enduring fame. * * *

The reports of General Hartranft, commanding First Brigade; Lieutenant Colonel B. M. Cutcheon, commanding Second Brigade, and Captains Roemer and Twitchell, battery commanders, are herewith inclosed; also nominal list of casualties.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. B. WILLCOX,

Brigadier General, Commanding.

Maj. P. M. LYDIG,

Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXVI, Part 1, Page 965; Vol. XL, Part 1, Page 584.)

REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

Hdqrs. Second Brigade, 1st Div., 9th Army Corps,

Near Poplar Spring Church, Va., Oct. 23d, 1864.

Capt. John D. Bertollette,

A. A. General, 1st Division, 9th A. C.

Captain—In accordance with instructions from Headquarters, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps, I have the honor to submit the following report of the part taken in the several actions of this campaign up to the 30th of July, 1864, by the several regiments of this Brigade.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

At the beginning of this campaign, this brigade, then the Second Brigade, Third Division, consisting of the following named regiments, viz.: Seventy-ninth New York Volunteers, Fiftieth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, Twentieth Michigan Volunteer Infantry, the First Michigan Sharpshooters, and the Sixtieth Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

On the 4th of May, the brigade marched from Warrenton Junction, but the Seventy-ninth New York and the Sixtieth Ohio were left as garrison, and did not rejoin until after the battle in the Wilderness. We crossed the Rapidan at

noon of May 5, and took position on the right of the Army to cover the ford, but did not become engaged on that day.*

MARCH TO SPOTTSYLVANIA.

Before daylight of May 8, we withdrew from the Wilderness, and halted near the Old Tavern. This brigade was detailed as rear guard of the army, and the Twentieth Michigan and Fiftieth Pennsylvania were rear guard to the brigade. These two regiments moved abreast, the former left in front, on the right of the road, and the latter right in front, on the left of the road, with a section of artillery between. Each regiment kept a company of skirmishers to the rear, and thus we moved, ready to form line of battle at any moment, by filing right and left, with the artillery in the center. The enemy followed at a short distance, but did not press us at all.

That night we bivouacked on the plank road, three miles southeast of Chancellorsville. Next morning, took the road in the following order: Sixtieth Ohio, Twentieth Michigan, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, First Michigan Sharpshooters, and Seventy-ninth New York.

THE BATTLE OF NY RIVER.

At about 9 o'clock a. m. we came in sight of Ny River, and a part of the Sixtieth Ohio was sent forward as skirmishers, with the remaining companies of that regiment as reserve. Fifty men of the Twentieth Michigan were deployed on the right of the road under Captain McCollum, while the remainder of the regiment advanced in line, supported their own skirmishers, and the Sixtieth Ohio, at a distance of about 150 yards. In this order we crossed the river and advanced almost to the crest of the hill with but little opposition. The skirmishers of the Sixtieth and Twentieth had already advanced to the woods beyond the crest. The reserve of the Sixtieth was at the crest. The Twentieth was in line on an old roadway, leading to the Gales House, and the balance of the brigade was still north of the river.

At this juncture I sent a sergeant and a dozen men to take and hold the Gales House, as sharpshooters, and at the same time, by order of Colonel Christ, I sent First Lieutenant C. A. Lounsberry with Company I (twenty-four men) to take position behind a fence, on line with the Sixtieth Ohio, with orders to hold it until relieved.

Such was the situation when the enemy attacked with a good deal of vigor, advancing with a front of three regiments, on both sides of the road. The Sixtieth Ohio maintained its position with creditable determination, especially when it is considered that they were just organized, and quite unskilled. Seeing them hard pressed, I sent Company D of the Twentieth to their support on the right of the road, who came up very opportunely. The remainder of the brigade came up rapidly. The Fiftieth Pennsylvania was thrown into position

*As the movement of the regiment in the "Wilderness," and the part it took in the battle of that name, are fully described in Chapter 16, the official account is omitted.

on the right of the Twentieth and the First Sharpshooters on the left, while the Seventy-ninth New York took position near the Gales house. The First Sharpshooters was now thrown quickly forward to the position occupied by Lieutenant Lounsberry, who now formed on their left, while the Fiftieth was in like manner advanced to the position where I had posted Company D of the Twentieth. The fight now became quite sharp. When the enemy charged, the First Sharpshooters, through some misapprehension, or other cause, broke and fell back in much confusion, and was rallied with difficulty. Lieutenant Lounsberry, however, with his company of the Twentieth, still maintained the position which the First Sharpshooters had left, and did not leave it until the Seventy-ninth New York charged in gallant style, driving back the enemy, and the First Sharpshooters had been rallied and returned to their position.

He then reported to his regiment with a loss of four men. At about the same moment that the First Sharpshooters fell back, the Sixtieth Ohio fell back also, after a stubborn fight, and thus the whole weight of the attack on the right of the road fell upon the Fiftieth Pennsylvania. This regiment held its ground for a few minutes but finally, the whole left wing, with Lieutenant Colonel Overton, fell back under the crest. The Twentieth Michigan still lay in reserve, but was becoming engaged. At this moment reverse seemed imminent. The First Sharpshooters and Sixtieth Ohio had been broken and were a good deal scattered (though Colonel McElroy had rallied a few of his men, upon the left of the Twentieth) and the left of the Fiftieth was forced back.

It was here that the bravery of one man was most conspicuous and did much to avert disaster. Captain Samuel Schwenk, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, took command of the four right companies of that regiment, and, charging with the bayonet, he drove back the enemy, just as the Twentieth Michigan came up on the double quick to his support, and the right was restored on the crest. At the same moment the Seventeenth Michigan dashed up the road, and the Seventy-ninth New York, Colonel Morrison commanding, charged in front of the Gales House, and the enemy was repulsed all along the line. We occupied the crest, and during the afternoon fortified it as best we could.

Thus this division gained a foothold nearer Spottsylvania Court House than any other part of the line.

THE BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT HOUSE.

May 10th and 12th.

May 10, 1864, our brigade remained in the position they had taken on the previous day: the Twentieth Michigan and Fiftieth Pennsylvania on the right of the road, and the Seventy-ninth New York, First Michigan Sharpshooters and Sixtieth Ohio on the left of the same. The day was chiefly occupied in strengthening our position.

At 6 o'clock p. m. the troops moved out of the works, and advanced, on a general right wheel, the Fifty-first Pennsylvania forming the right, and act-

ing as a pivot. In the advance we encountered comparatively slight resistance, and our losses were quite slight. In the advance the undersigned received a wound which kept him from the field until the early part of July, and the following report is made up from the best data at hand.

Having constructed breastworks during the night of the 10th, the troops remained quiet behind them until near night of the 11th, when they were withdrawn behind the Ny, to re-establish the line, but before morning of the 12th they again occupied the south bank of the river, preparatory to the general assault of that day. During the morning, the brigade bore no active part, except as a supporting column. On the morning of this day, the Seventy-ninth New York had been ordered to report as Corps Headquarters to be mustered out, their term of services having expired. At the same time Colonel Humphrey, Second Michigan, was assigned to the command of the brigade.

About the middle of the afternoon, the brigade was moved into position to take part in the assault. The brigade was posted in the second line, supporting the First Brigade, General Hartranft, commanding, and in the following order from right to left: First Michigan Sharpshooters, Twentieth Michigan, Fiftieth Pennsylvania. The Sixtieth Ohio was temporarily acting with Colonel Marshall's Provisional Brigade, deployed as skirmishers to protect the left flank. The Second Michigan was detached, supporting Wright's battery, on the Spottsylvania road.

All things being in readiness, the charge was ordered. On the right, in front of the First Sharpshooters, the ground was covered with a bushy small growth of trees, which concealed the movement of the line. On the left, in front of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania was a dense growth of pine timber, difficult to pass in line of battle, but in front of the Twentieth Michigan was a strip or belt of perfectly open ground, extending up, quite to the enemy's works. The advance was gallantly made, the line advancing about 200 yards, under the most terrific fire of shell, canister and musketry. Under this fire the first line was soon checked, and melted away. The second line, however, with such of the first as joined it in the advance, pushed forward rapidly, and steadily, until within a short distance of the enemy's works. The First Michigan Sharpshooters reached a hastily constructed breastwork of rails which the enemy had thrown up as a shelter for their skirmishers, and this they occupied jointly with the Twenty-seventh Michigan of the First Brigade. The order was now given to halt, and lie down. The Twentieth Michigan, owing to the openness of the ground over which they had to move, advanced faster and farther than the others, suffering severely, losing almost one-half of their number in a few moments. Besides they could get no cover where they lay, there being only a "dead furrow" a foot or thereabouts in height to protect them. The Fiftieth Pennsylvania, on account of the thickness of the woods, were unable to keep up with the Twentieth except one company on the right, under Captain Schwenk, who again behaved with the most conspicuous gallantry. During the few minutes that the brigade lay in this position, a brigade of the enemy had passed around our left and charged with the purpose of

capturing the batteries supported by the Second Michigan. The account of the charge on the batteries and its repulse, I give in the words of Colonel Humphrey himself:

"At the same time the enemy charged these batteries from the woods, in two columns of a brigade each. The one emerging from a point immediately in front of our batteries, and the other from a point 100 yards to our left. The section of the Nineteenth New York Battery was the object of the direct attack of the enemy, and it was but a few moments before nearly every man belonging to the section was either killed or wounded, and the pieces ceased firing. The enemy was rapidly advancing, and were within ten paces of the guns. The advance of the enemy was checked, and after a short and severe contest the first column was repulsed with considerable loss to the enemy. The guns were then turned on the column approaching from the left, and that too was quickly repulsed. You will pardon me for calling attention to the conduct of the officers and men of the regiment (Second Michigan) on this occasion. Attacked by a force vastly superior, they not only maintained their ground, but repulsed two columns of the enemy so completely, that he was unable to take advantage of a serious repulse of a part of our own lines, at about the same time. The value of the service performed by the regiment on this occasion is seen from the fact that if the few men forming it had given away, these batteries would have been lost; our left completely turned, and the most serious consequences might have followed." * * *

It was this assaulting column of the enemy that in returning from the attack, struck the division in the flank. They first came in contact with the Seventeenth Michigan, a large portion of which they captured. They next struck the Fiftieth Pennsylvania Volunteers on the left of this brigade, and doubling them up in the thick pine woods, succeeded in making prisoners of about 100 of them also. A small portion of them, however, rallying around their colors, gallantly fought their way out, contending hand to hand in many instances, with bayonets and butts of guns. Captain Schwenk with his company, joined the troops on his right, and maintained his position to the last. All this transpired in less time than it can be written. Pending this melee in the woods, Major Geo. C. Barnes, commanding the Twentieth Michigan, discovered that the enemy was closing up on his rear, and unless he took immediate steps to prevent it, he would be captured entire. He therefore moved rapidly, by the left flank, into the woods, and filing to the left, brought his regiment facing to the left flank. He found himself confronted by the disorganized fragments of two rebel brigades, and almost entirely surrounded. With the men about him, however, he attacked boldly and cut his way out, with a loss of only 30 missing, most of whom have since been found to have been wounded.

Major Barnes behaved with the most reckless bravery, exposing himself where it seemed impossible for man to live, encouraging and steadying his men, regardless of danger. He deserves most honorable mention. He has since fallen at his post. The regiment at large did all that men could do under the circumstances, and most of them were, at some stage of the fight, prisoners, and some were captured and recaptured several times.

While this was transacting with the other regiments, the First Sharpshooters were holding their position with great obstinacy, and as the flank attack did not reach them they were the last to retire. On this occasion they cancelled the unfortunate record they made on the 9th at Ny River.

Both the attack of the enemy and our own had now been repulsed. The lines were drawn back and re-established, and after this most bloody day, the troops rested upon their arms.

* * * * *

On the evening of the 16th of June, the brigade appeared in front of Petersburg, and moved into position.

BATTLE OF PETERSEURG.

On the 17th of June the brigade took position in a ravine in front of the enemy's second line, which they had hastily constructed during the night of the 16th. When the charge was ordered, the First Brigade, which was upon the left of this brigade, by some means took the wrong point of direction, and instead of moving against the enemy's works, they swept past in front of them, receiving their full fire. Perceiving this miscarriage, Colonel Christ, commanding this brigade, ordered it to halt at the crest of a hill and throw up a slight breastworks, which they did.

Later in the day, the First Division charged and carried the works. The Sixtieth Ohio was then ordered forward to fill the space between the First Division and the Second Corps, which it did, but the space was so great and the regiment so small, that it formed a very weak line.

Still later the First Division was dislodged from the position they had gained, and the Sixtieth Ohio was obliged to fall back with them. After dark, the First Michigan Sharpshooters, Captain Levant C. Rhines, commanding, was ordered to charge upon the angle of the enemy's works, which they did in most gallant style, capturing the works, with 3 officers, 86 enlisted men, and a stand of colors, which were sent to the rear.

The enemy, however, were not disposed to yield the point, and soon returned to the fight, which now became a fierce, hand-to-hand conflict, in which Captain Rhines, who had displayed the greatest gallantry, lost his life. The remnant of the regiment soon found itself surrounded by superior numbers, and the adjutant with 77 men surrendered, prisoners of war. The national colors of the regiment were destroyed by the men, and the pieces divided among them, rather than surrender them to the enemy. As a brigade the command was not actively engaged on this day.

June 18, at daylight, it was found that the enemy had retired during the night, and taken up a new line on the Cemetery Hill, beyond the Suffolk railroad. The brigade advanced in line of battle through a thick belt of pine timber and emerged into an open field of grain sloping gradually toward the Suffolk railroad and the enemy's works. The Sixtieth Ohio was deployed as skirmishers facing to the right to protect that flank. The remnant of the First Michigan Sharpshooters was engaged in the throwing up works for Roemer's battery near the edge of the above mentioned belt of timber. About one-half of the Fif-

tieth Pennsylvania was also employed as flankers on the right. The remainder of the brigade charged in line for a quarter of a mile, across the open field, suffering severely from a galling fire from a very long line of the enemy's rifle pits. The railroad cut was reached, but it afforded no shelter, for it was enfiladed by a storm of bullets. The men attempted to climb out of this cut, but only to be mercilessly shot down and to fall back among their comrades. The loss at this point was severe. Toward evening another advance was made, which was pushed to within 150 yards of the enemy's line. Here the men constructed slight works for their protection, and before morning the brigade was relieved and moved to the rear.

In the charge of the 18th, on the Suffolk railroad, Major George C. Barnes, commanding Twentieth Michigan, fell mortally wounded. He was an officer of chivalrous bravery, and I have had occasion to mention his valuable services more than once.

He was a born soldier and he died like a true soldier, leading his command. During this action Colonel Christ, commanding the brigade, was severely wounded, when the command devolved upon Colonel Raulston, Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, who was also wounded soon after. Lieutenant Colonel Travers, Forty-sixth New York, then took command, but he, too, was soon wounded, when Lieutenant Colonel Newberry, Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, became the senior officer present. He remained in command until morning of the 19th, when Colonel William Humphrey, Second Michigan, was assigned to the command, and his regiment was attached to the brigade, of which it still constitutes a valuable part.

On the 20th of June the brigade moved to the right and relieved some part of the Second Corps, in which position it remained until the 25th of June, when it moved back to the left and took position, with its right resting on the Suffolk road, which place it continued to occupy until the 27th of July, when it was withdrawn and placed in reserve.

The great losses which the brigade suffered during this period will sufficiently attest its great services without any praise from me. If it has not been the good fortune of the command to accomplish any remarkable or brilliant feats of arms, it has not been because the men have not been true and reliable or the officers brave and efficient.

Such, Captain, is the best report I have been able to compile from the materials at hand. I have prepared it in the midst of a multitude of duties and under great embarrassments from the fact that during the greater part of the operations I was myself absent, wounded. It has also been prepared from secondary reports made by officers not at the time in actual command of the several regiments, the original reports having been taken away by Colonel Humphrey when he was mustered out. A more full and perfect report may be expected from him at some future day. Accompanying this is a list of casualties for the period covered.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Capt. John D. Bertolotte,

Assistant Adjutant General, First Division, Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XXXVI, Part 1, Page 975.)

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

Headquarters Twentieth Regiment, Michigan Volunteer Infantry.
Before Petersburg, Va., August 7, 1864.

Captain—In obedience to general orders, No. 19, headquarters Second Brigade, Third Division, Ninth Army Corps, August 7, 1864, I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of this campaign:

FIRST-EPOCH.

We marched from Warrenton Junction, Va., on the morning of May 4, crossed the Rappahannock the same evening, and bivouacked near Rappahannock Station that night.

May 5th we marched at daylight and reached Germanna Ford at 11 a. m. At 12 m. we crossed the river and took position on the right of the army in the woods, throwing forward a strong picket line. At dark our pickets were relieved by the One Hundred and Ninth New York and the three regiments of this brigade—Twentieth Michigan, Fiftieth Pennsylvania and First Michigan Sharpshooters—assembled on the road as a reserve. We slept upon our arms that night. May 6th we marched at 3 a. m., and marched rapidly up the plank road until we came to the Wilderness Run, when we took a by-road to the right of the Run, and entered a dense piece of woods. A delay of an hour occurred in getting out skirmishers. We then moved through the pine woods to an open field, and keeping in the woods to the north (right) of this, formed along a fence in battle line and faced by the rear rank and threw out skirmishers to the rear. We occupied this position until near noon, when the enemy opened upon us a severe fire from a battery on a ridge.

May 7, at daylight, I pushed out my skirmish line and found that the enemy had retired. We occupied their line with our skirmishers and sent out a scout, who found the enemy's skirmishers half a mile in front. We occupied the morning in building strong breastworks. We brought in quite a number of rebel wounded. During the day we collected about 300 stands of arms from the field, mostly in good condition, which we carried to the rear.

Toward night we moved toward the right, brigade-distance, and occupied the line from which the First Brigade had been moved, and again threw up breastworks. We lay upon our arms that night. See list of casualties in the first epoch in appendix to this report.

SECOND EPOCH.

May 8, 1864, we withdrew from our works in the Wilderness at about 2 a. m., and having reached the open country, near Wilderness Tavern, waited for day-

light. A halt of considerable length became necessary to allow the trains to get upon the road.

We took the road at about 8 a. m., at which time the enemy's skirmishers emerged from the woods. A detachment of cavalry formed the rear guard, supported by the Fiftieth Pennsylvania and Twentieth Michigan, and a section of artillery. The Fiftieth marched right in front, and the Twentieth left in front, the two regiments abreast, ready to file right and left at any moment, and form line of battle. Each regiment kept one company out to the rear as skirmishers. The enemy followed in sight to pick up stragglers, but made no attack. We marched in this order until we reached Chancellorsville, when our brigade passed to the front.

We bivouacked that night about three miles southeast from Chancellorsville, on the plank road.

May 9 we took the road at about 4 a. m., the Sixtieth Ohio preceding and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, First Michigan Sharpshooters and Seventy-ninth New York following. At about 10 a. m., arrived in sight of the River Ny. Detached thirty men as skirmishers on the right of the road under Captain McCollum, while the Sixtieth Ohio advanced skirmishers on the left, the main body of the Twentieth Michigan supported the skirmishers at a distance of 150 yards; the skirmishers forced their way across the Ny, and we moved nearly to the crest of the hill with slight opposition. This regiment was in reserve across the road in an old roadway and gully, the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Sixtieth Ohio and First Michigan Sharpshooters forming the first line, when the Sixtieth Ohio was forced back and the First Michigan Sharpshooters gave way. The Twentieth checked the advance of the enemy, and these regiments rallied upon our left. The Seventeenth Michigan dashed up the road, passing through our lines. We were ordered now to move forward, and assisted in driving the enemy back. The line being partly restored, the Twentieth went on the double-quick to the support of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, forming upon their right. I should have stated that before the balance of the brigade came up, I had sent Company I, Lieutenant C. A. Lounsberry, commanding, to occupy the position afterward occupied by the First Michigan Sharpshooters.

When that regiment fell back, Lieutenant Lounsberry held his ground, and with the assistance of the Seventy-ninth New York, which came up on his left, repulsed the attack of the enemy. When the First Sharpshooters resumed their position in line, Lieutenant Lounsberry reported back to his regiment. Being upon the extreme right of the line, I deployed skirmishers 300 yards to my right, and occupied a large house in my front with a company of sharpshooters. The balance of the day was occupied in constructing breastworks.

May 10—The morning was occupied in strengthening our works. A strong and vigilant skirmish line was kept out. About 3 p. m., received orders to be ready to attack at 5 p. m.; made preparations accordingly. At about 6 p. m., having thrown forward a strong skirmish line, supported by a second, the line advanced. Being the right, which was the pivot, the regiment did not move far.

In this advance the undersigned received a wound, which kept him from the command until the early part of July. The command then devolved upon Major

George C. Barnes, who fell mortally wounded in the charge of June 18, near this place. The following report is made by Major C. B. Grant, his successor:

"May 12—The regiment participated in the attack upon the enemy's works at Spottsylvania Court House, advancing over an open space between two belts of timber. The enemy getting upon our flank and in our way under cover of the wood on our left—the troops on our left having given away—Major George C. Barnes, then commanding, moved the regiment by the left flank into the woods.

Here we were met by a rebel brigade, returning from an ineffectual charge upon our batteries, and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, by which we fought our way out of the woods and brought off our colors in safety and captured a few prisoners."

May 19—Moved two miles to the west and constructed heavy breastworks, which we occupied until the 21st.

The following is a list of casualties during the second epoch, among whom are several brave, intelligent and valuable officers: Four officers and thirteen men killed, three officers and ninety-two men wounded and thirty-one men missing; total 143.

During this period our losses amounted to about one-half our effective strength.

THIRD EPOCH.

On the 21st of May we left our entrenchments near Spottsylvania Court House, and marching that night, we reached Bowling Green about 8 a. m. on the 22nd. Resuming the march at 10 a. m., we reached the North Anna River on the evening of the 23d of May. On the 24th of May the regiment was detailed to lead the charge of the division across the ford of the North Anna, but the order being countermanded, we took up position on the north bank of the stream and threw up breastworks. This position the regiment occupied until the morning of the 27th of May, acting as sharpshooters and keeping a battery on the other side of the river silent. This ends the third epoch.

See list of casualties during the third epoch in appendix to this report.

FOURTH EPOCH.

On the morning of May 27 we took up the line of march, and marching almost constantly, crossed the Pamunkey River at midnight on the 28th and bivouacked on the south bank. At 4 a. m., May 29, we moved into position. At 6 a. m., May 30, moved to the left flank and took up another position, which we fortified. On the 31st we moved to the right again and were in supporting line.

June 1—Moved a short distance to the left and threw up rifle-pits. June 2, while the corps was in the act of retiring, this regiment was sent out at about 5 p. m. to picket and hold two roads a short distance beyond their junction. While we were in the act of deploying, the enemy attacked us in force. After holding them in check as long as possible we were obliged to retire behind a line of breastworks. Here the enemy attacked us soon after dark, but we repulsed the attack and held the position. At midnight, the troops on our right and left having been withdrawn, we moved to the right and joined the Second

Division, Ninth Army Corps, where we remained until morning. June 3 we were in the second line supporting the First Brigade, but suffered severely. June 4 moved about two miles to the left and took position near Cold Harbor, relieving a part of the Second Army Corps. Remained in this position until June 12.

See list of casualties for fourth epoch in appendix to this report.

(Vol. XL, Part 1, Page 588.)

FIFTH EPOCH.

June 12—We withdrew from Cold Harbor, bringing up the rear of the division as rearguard, which duty we performed up to 11 p. m. of the 13th of June. Reached James River at 6:30 p. m. of the 14th and sent out seventy-five men on picket. On the 15th crossed the James River, marched all night, and took up position in front of Petersburg. At 7 p. m. on the 16th sent out ninety men as skirmishers.

On the 17th of June we supported the charge of the First Brigade, suffering but slight loss.

On the 18th of June the regiment made a charge across a wide, open field and through a deep cut on the Suffolk railroad, suffering very severely from a galling cross fire; then charged again from the railroad up to within 160 yards of the enemy's works and threw up rifle-pits. Our loss on this day was about one-half of the effective force engaged. About midnight the regiment was withdrawn from the front and lay in reserve, where it remained until the 20th of June, when it again moved into the trenches."

This completes the report of Major Grant.

The regiment remained in the trenches until July 25, without relief. On the 25th we were withdrawn to the rear, where we rested two days, and on the 27th of July we moved two miles and a half to the left and rear of the Suffolk Railroad. We were occupied with the picket duty until the evening of the 29th, when we again returned to the front, bivouacking near the headquarters of the Fifth Army Corps.

For the operations of this command in the assault upon the enemy's lines before Petersburg on the 30th and the operations on the 31st, I respectfully refer to my report forwarded on the 3d instant, and the list of casualties appended. The following is the list of casualties during the operations around Petersburg.

I cannot close this too lengthy report without at least an allusion to the conduct of the officers and men of this command. It is only necessary to state that at all times and under all emergencies they have discharged their duties faithfully, gallantly and uncomplainingly. Our casualties have been greater in number than the number of muskets we carried at the beginning of the campaign. We entered the campaign with twenty-two officers; of these, a major, three captains and four lieutenants have been killed; the colonel commanding, three captains and three lieutenants wounded, and a captain and lieutenant missing; total loss of officers, 17.

Among so many gallant officers it is impossible to speak of all who merit it, whether living or dead, but I must make an exception in favor of Major George

C. Barnes, who fell gallantly leading his regiment in the charge of June 18. He was a brave, intelligent, and thoroughly reliable officer, often tried and never found wanting. Also Major (late Captain) Grant, who assumed command on the death of Major Barnes, of whom all may be said that has been said of the latter. One other man deserves special mention. Color Sergeant Alexander Bush, after having carried his colors with the greatest bravery in every action of the campaign, was reported wounded and missing after the assault of the 30th of July; his commission as first lieutenant came two days too late to reward his gallantry. In short, the command has honored every call upon it, and only ninety-one effective men now remain in the ranks.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

Lient. Col., Comdg. Twentieth Michigan Regt., Michigan Vol. Infantry.

Captain Thomas Mathews.

Acting Asst. Adjt. Gen., Second Brig., Third Div., Ninth Army Corps.

APPENDIX.

Recapitulation of Casualties. (Twentieth Michigan.)

Epoch.	Place.	Killed.		Wound- ed.		Missing.		Died of wounds		Total.		Aggregate.
		Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	
First.....	Battle of the Wilderness				5		2		1		8	8
Second.....	Spottsylvania Court House.....	4	13	3	79		31		13	7	135	143
Third.....	North Anna River.....		2		2				1		5	5
Fourth.....	Tolopotomy and Cold Harbor.....		5	1	36	1	9	1	3	3	55	56
Fifth.....	Before Petersburg.....	3	18	2	69	1	19		9	6	115	121
Totals.....		7	38	6	191	2	61	1	27	16	317	333

B. M. CUTCHEON,

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Volunteers.

APPENDIX "F."

PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN, 1864.

- I. Report of Colonel William Humphrey, Commanding Brigade, of Assault on the Crater, July 30, 1864.
- II. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Brigade, of assault on the Crater, July 30, 1864.
- III. List of casualties in the Michigan Regiment of the (Crater) Brigade, July 1 to July 31.
- IV. Itinerary of Second Brigade, June 15 to July 31.
- V. Report of Colonel William Humphrey, Commanding Brigade, August 19-21 (Weldon Railroad).
- VI. Report of Brigadier General J. F. Hartranft, Commanding Brigade, September 30 to October 17, 1864 (Poplar Springs Church).
- VII. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Regiment, August 20 and 21, 1864.
- VIII. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Regiment, September 30 to October 8, 1864 (Peeble's Farm).
- IX. Report of Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Commanding Brigade, October 27 and 28, 1864 (Hatcher's Run).
- X. Itinerary Second Brigade, August 1 to December 13, 1864.
- XI. Organization Second Brigade, August 1 to December 13, 1864.
- XII. Election Returns, November 8, 1864.
- XIII. Report on Recommendation for Brevets.
- XIV. Order Assigning Regiments to Positions on the Line.
- XV. Special Order Assigning Officers to Duty in Brevet Rank.
- XVI. Organization Second Brigade, December 31, 1864.
- XVII. Letter of Major General Parke recommending Promotions.

(Official Records, Vol. XL, Part 1, Page 586.)

REPORT OF COLONEL WILLIAM HUMPHREY, SECOND MICHIGAN INFANTRY, COMMANDING SECOND BRIGADE, OF OPERA- TIONS JULY 30.

Hdqrs. Second Brigade, Third Div., Ninth Army Corps,
Before Petersburg, Va., August 4, 1864.

Captain—I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of my command during the action of July 30:

According to orders from the general commanding the division, I moved the brigade into the covered way leading by the right of Roemer's battery to the front before daylight of the morning of the 30th. I was to hold my command here until the First Brigade, General Hartranft commanding, which I was to follow in the attack, should move forward from the ground on which it was then formed, then to move to and form on the ground it should leave.

This being done I was to follow General Hartranft in his movement as closely as possible, and after passing through the enemy's line of works to take position to his right, forming the connection between him and the left of the First Division. These instructions were promptly carried out so far as circumstances would permit.

As soon as the advance commenced I moved my command forward, and as fast as the regiments of the First Brigade were advanced, formed in column of battalions on the ground thus cleared. This was at 5:15 a. m., but the whole of the First Brigade was not moved beyond our pits, hence I could follow my previous instructions no further. But wishing to assist the troops occupying the captured redoubt, I requested permission to form the brigade in line behind our work for a charge on the pits. The line was formed with its right opposite to the left of that part of the enemy's line then held by our own men, the left resting on the road.

The regiments were placed from right to left in the following order, viz.: First Michigan Sharpshooters, Second and Twentieth Michigan Infantry, Forty-sixth New York and Fiftieth Pennsylvania Infantry, with the Sixtieth Ohio Infantry and Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry (dismounted) in rear of the Forty-sixth New York and Fiftieth Pennsylvania. At 8 a. m., the three regiments on the right of the line charged across the field as directed, taking the pits in their front and the men by whom they were occupied.

After clearing our pits, the Forty-sixth New York hesitated, lost the connection with the regiment on its right, broke, and crowded through and carried with it the regiment on its left to the road. These regiments were afterwards put in the pits forming our front line, where they remain to this time. This charge so far as the instructions were carried out was a success, and had it not been for the causeless breaking of the Forty-sixth New York, there is no doubt but the whole line would have been carried and the troops occupying it captured, and the achievement of the object for which we set out in the morning rendered more than probable.

The regiments that reached the enemy's works helped hold these works against the three assaults of the enemy, and were among the last to obey the order to retire at 2:30 p. m. As I have already forwarded you reports of the losses they need not be reported here.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HUMPHREY,

Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Captain Robert A. Hutchins,

Asst. Adjt. Gen., Third Division, Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XL, Part 1, Page 590.)

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

Headquarters Twentieth Michigan Infantry,
Before Petersburg, Va., August 3, 1864.

Captain—In obedience to circular of this date, I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of this regiment in the action of July 30, 1864:

We left the bivouac at about 4 a. m., having left knapsacks under guard, and halted in the covered way near Roemer's battery. When the mine was sprung we advanced at the double-quick and formed in the brigade column in rear of our works, the regiment being the third battalion in the column. We lost several men before the charge was made. At 8:30 a. m., we formed in the trenches for the charge, the Second Michigan on our right and the Forty-sixth New York on our left. We were ordered to follow and be guided by the movements of the regiment upon our right. The regiment on our right moved by the right flank, on the double-quick, toward the fort, and I led my regiment in the same direction.

Seeing that great numbers of men were crowded behind the fort, I moved by the left flank, and threw my regiment upon the enemy's rifle-pits to the left of the fort. The enemy occupying the pit surrendered to the number of between 30 and 40, including two commissioned officers, to my certain knowledge. When the first rebel counter-charge was made I moved my command over the rebel rifle-pit and into the left of the fort, or battery, which part was only slightly injured, and planted our colors beyond the fort. When the stampede of the troops took place my command did not participate beyond a very few men who were carried away in the rush.

This regiment participated actively in repulsing the rebel charge, both in the forenoon and afternoon, behaving with gallantry and coolness. All the men of the command participated in the charge except some half a dozen, against whom I have directed charges to be preferred. A few of the men being lost in getting over the breastworks, went to the left with the Forty-sixth New York regiment, and again returned to our lines; one officer also being delayed in getting his men over, made the same mistake and went with the Forty-sixth New York into the ravine to the left. All the rest of the officers and men went into the enemy's works and remained till afternoon. At about 1:30 p. m. I came back to our lines to endeavor to obtain water and ammunition for the men, and also to try and get a gun silenced that was enfilading us from the battery on the left. I did this by permission of Brigadier General Hartranft, who was near me. Before I could return, the last charge was made and nearly all our forces came back. It was some time before I learned that any part of my command was still in the rebel fort, but I learned at about 3 p. m. that our colors were still flying on their works, defended by about thirty men of my command; of these,

about ten made their escape and the remainder were taken, among them, all that remained of the color guard, of whom only two remained uninjured. So far as I can learn, the colors of the Twentieth and Second Michigan were the last displayed on the rebel fort. After the withdrawal of our forces, I assembled the remnant of my command and was assigned to a position in the trenches adjacent to the Eighteenth Corps, where we remained till the 1st of August.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Infantry.

Captain Thomas Mathews.

Acting Asst. Adjt. Gen., Second Brig., Third Div., Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XL, Part 1, Page 199.)

ITINERARY, SECOND BRIGADE, THIRD DIVISION, COMMANDED
BY COLONEL WILLIAM HUMPHREY, SECOND MICHIGAN
INFANTRY.

June 15—Crossed the James River at night.

June 16—About noon arrived in front of Petersburg.

June 17—Participated in the charge made by the division.

June 18—Were engaged again, losing heavily. Colonel Christ, commanding brigade, was wounded, when the command was assumed by Colonel Raulston, Twenty-fourth New York (dismounted) Cavalry. He was wounded also, and Colonel William Humphrey, Second Michigan Volunteers, was assigned to the command on the 19th, by order of General Willcox, commanding division. The Second Michigan Volunteers was transferred from the First to this brigade the same day.

Since the 19th the brigade has been in the trenches in front of Petersburg. No general engagement has taken place.

July 1—Occupied the advance line on the extreme left of the Ninth Corps line in front of Petersburg. Remained here, nothing occurring worthy of note, until the 25th.

July 25—The brigade relieved by a part of the First Brigade, Third Division, and a part of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, moved to the rear a short distance and encamped in the open field.

July 27—Received orders to report to Brigadier General White, commanding Fourth Division; marched to the extreme left of our line and occupied a position, our left resting on the old Norfolk road.

July 29—Orders were received to recall pickets and be ready to march at dark. Moved at 9 p. m. toward our old position and halted near the headquarters of the Fifth Corps from 10:30 o'clock until about 3 a. m. next morning, when we moved toward the front.

July 30—Participated in the assault on the enemy's line in front of Petersburg; made one charge which was partially successful. The loss of the brigade

on this day was: Killed, two commissioned officers and fourteen enlisted men; wounded, thirteen commissioned officers and ninety-nine enlisted men; missing, five commissioned officers and eighty-five enlisted men; aggregate loss, 218.

July 31—Occupy the front line, formerly held by the First Brigade of this division, excepting the First, Second and Twentieth Michigan Regiments, which have been relieved, having suffered severely in yesterday's engagement.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 1, Serial 87. Page 565.)

REPORT OF BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN F. HARTRANFT, U. S.
ARMY, COMMANDING SECOND BRIGADE, OF OPERATIONS
SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 8.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
October 17, 1864.

Captain—I have the honor to report that in obedience to orders from the general commanding the division, my command moved from the Gurley house about 10 a. m. on the 30th of September, following the Second Division. We took the road passing Poplar Grove Church. Soon after passing the Peeble's house, formed in line of battle, facing to the left and westward, in the following order from the right: First Michigan Sharpshooters, Colonel C. V. De Land; Second Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel E. J. March; Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Captain G. W. Brumm; Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, Colonel W. C. Raulston; Forty-sixth New York, Captain Adolph Becker; Sixtieth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel M. P. Avery, and Twentieth Michigan, Lieutenant Colonel B. M. Cutcheon. The brigade was moved forward, in accordance with orders, for the purpose of establishing a line from the left of the Second Division to the Clements House. After passing the low ground and reaching the woods, I sent Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon with the Twentieth and Second Michigan Regiments to the Clements house to guard the road, and feel by scouts for the left of the Second Division. After he had reached the house and sent out scouts, but before they had found the left of the Second Division, orders were received to withdraw the command and move to the right. Moved up beyond the Pegram house and formed in line facing westward and at right angles to that of the Second Division, with my right just east of and close to Doctor Boisseau's house, with orders to protect the left of General Potter's division. Immediately in front of the left of my line, I found a swamp, almost impassible. The course of the stream running through it was about southeast. From the right of my line to this swamp, was a space of about 200 yards. About 1,000 yards to the front and westward of my line were works of the enemy, occupied by some cavalry, but no artillery or infantry were shown. I established a skirmish line on a little crest beyond the swamp referred to. When the Second Division moved forward, I moved the brigade by the right flank, preserving the formation. After the left of Potter's division had passed into the woods they commenced extending their left, throwing it into the open field beyond the Boisseau house and about

300 yards in advance. I then changed front, forming line of battle parallel to the Second Division line, my right being immediately in advance of the Boisseau house, and about 150 yards distant, the left resting on the swamp. This line in respect to the Second Division was in *echelon*, and a portion of the right was covered by the Second Division. On our right the firing became very heavy. The Thirty-sixth and Thirty-fifth Massachusetts Regiments came to the rear in confusion. I attempted to rally and put them in position on the right of my line. We succeeded in halting these regiments. A staff officer came to me about this time from Major General Humphreys with an order to withdraw the troops. I obeyed this order very slowly. I was unable on account of the dense growth of sorghum on the right of the brigade to see the condition of the troops on my right, and consequently did not see the necessity of retiring, but I retired and formed another line on a road about 100 yards in the rear, still in advance of the Boisseau house. I discovered here from the direction of the enemy's fire that our right had been well driven back, and also noticed that the skirmish line which I had established across the swamp to the westward, now on my left flank, had been driven in and their position occupied by the enemy. In view of the position of the enemy on my right and left, and the order from General Humphreys, I at once ordered the two left regiments, the Second and Twentieth Michigan, to withdraw. The other regiments were ordered to follow. I fell back, and by order of the general commanding the division, reformed my line, the right resting on the left of the Pegram house, and the line extending to the left, which was very much refused. It is now dusk. Skirmishers were advanced about 100 yards. The brigade remained in this position until about 12 o'clock, midnight, when the skirmishers were relieved by the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, and the rest of the brigade was withdrawn and put into position on the right of the First Brigade, which was stretched across the road at the Clements house, facing about northwest. Went into position about 2 a. m. Breastworks were thrown up between that time and daylight.

About 8 a. m., October 1, the brigade was moved to the right, the right resting near the Peebles house, the left extending toward the Clements house. We were ordered to throw up breastworks, which was done at once, under a heavy rain. Very soon after the work was commenced, the Twenty-fourth New York (now under command of Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Newberry, Colonel Raulston having been captured near the Boisseau house the day before), which was on duty near the Pegram house, and the pickets of the Second Division and of the Fifth Corps were attacked by infantry and artillery. They retired, and the Twenty-fourth was put on picket on our own front. During this attack the erection of breastworks progressed very rapidly. Skirmishing occurred on the Second Division front during the day, but nothing worthy of note transpired so far as this brigade was concerned. On the morning of the 2d, about 8 o'clock, in obedience to orders, the brigade moved forward in two lines, with skirmishers in front. The skirmish line was composed of the Sixtieth Ohio, part deployed and the rest in reserve, under Major Stearns. The first line consisted of the Twentieth Michigan and the Forty-sixth New York, under Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon; and the Second of the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, the First

Michigan Sharpshooters (under command of Captain G. H. Murdock, Colonel DeLand having been captured on the 30th), the Second Michigan and the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, under Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Newberry, of the Twenty-fourth. The brigade was ordered to move forward in such a direction that its right should rest on the Pegram house. At 11 o'clock my skirmishers occupied the Boisseau house. They were the first to occupy it. About 1 p. m., the first line, under Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon, was put in position on the left of Potter's division, with orders to throw up breastworks, which was at once done. Just before dark the brigade was ordered to form in line, the left resting on the works occupied by the Second Division in the morning, and the right extending in the general direction of the Pegram house.

Works were thrown up during the night and a picket line established. Next day the works were strengthened, timber slashed and the picket line advanced and reestablished.

October 8, at 6:30 a. m., in obedience to orders from Brigadier General Willcox, the brigade moved in light marching order and without breaking camp, to the Clements house. Here the brigade was formed on the south side of the road leading from the Clements house to the Hawks house in the following order: The Second Michigan, under Lieutenant Colonel March, deployed as skirmishers, supported by the Twenty-fourth New York, the whole under command of Lieutenant Colonel Newberry; the first line, composed of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania, the Twentieth and First Michigan, under Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon, and the second composed of the Forty-sixth New York and Sixtieth Ohio, under Major Stearns. The Third Brigade formed on the right of the road, and when they were ready we advanced. On reaching the plain in front of the Smith house and the enemy's redoubts on this road, slight skirmishing occurred with the enemy, who retired without any resistance. They were at this time leveling their abandoned works. My skirmishers moved up and occupied first the Smith house, then the redoubts, without any loss. I then stationed the First Michigan Sharpshooters on the road leading to the left from the edge of the open field, and about seventy-five men from the Twenty-fourth New York at the Smith House, part of whom were deployed as skirmishers to the south and west, then advanced the skirmishers and the rest of the Twenty-fourth New York as support on the road leading west; moved up that road about half a mile until I came to a cross road, still in the woods. I now brought up the balance of the troops, stationing the Fiftieth Pennsylvania near the Hawks house, which was on the right of this road; the Twentieth Michigan and Forty-sixth New York on the crest of the hill running from the redoubts to the Smith house, where they threw up a temporary breastwork, while the Sixtieth Ohio established skirmishers south and west from the Smith house, this house being their headquarters.

About 100 yards in advance of the cross roads referred to was a clearing, in which was the enemy's cavalry in some force.

They were slashing timber and blockading roads, south and west of the position. I established a picket of the Twenty-fourth New York on the road, and ordered the skirmishers to change directions to the right. The enemy then attacked my picket at the cross roads, but were repulsed. I immediately halted my skirmishers and reestablished my connection with my pickets and rested here for

orders. The Third Brigade picket line, which was on my right, was attacked and driven in. My right temporarily gave way, but was immediately halted by Lieutenant Colonel March and remained in their position. No effort being made to reestablish the Third Brigade line, and fearing the enemy might follow up their little success and permanently occupy a position which commanded the road over which I had to withdraw, I ordered my skirmishers and pickets to fall back and form on the same line as those of the Third Brigade. After receiving notice to retire I ordered back all the regiments to the edge of the woods, and in support of two guns still in position, except the Twentieth, which occupied the rebel redoubt, and the Sixtieth Ohio, at the Smith house. As soon as the guns were withdrawn I ordered back to camp the regiments then with them. It was now dark nearly. An order was then sent to Lieutenant Colonel Cutcheon to withdraw his regiment and the Sixtieth Ohio and return to camp.

I desire to express my entire satisfaction with the conduct of the regiments in the command and their commanding officers. They behaved nobly on the afternoon of the 30th especially, when the brigade was almost surrounded by the enemy, retiring a short distance and forming a new line, where they stood firm until ordered to retire. All the regiments displayed a steadiness under trying circumstances, which speaks well of their discipline.

The same qualities were displayed during the reconnaissance on the 8th of October. To the members of my staff, Captains Mathews and Van Buskirk and Lieutenants Watts and Todd, I am under obligations for the promptness and ability with which they aided me.

I have the honor, captain, to be your most obedient servant,

J. F. HARTRANFT,

Brigadier General of Volunteers.

Captain John D. Bertollette,

Assistant Adjutant General, First Division, Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 1, Page 595.)

REPORT OF COLONEL WILLIAM HUMPHREY, SECOND MICHIGAN INFANTRY, COMMANDING SECOND BRIGADE, OF OPER- TIONS AUGUST 19-21.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., Third Div., Ninth Army Corps,
Near Aiken's House, Va., August 30, 1864.

Captain—I have the honor to submit the following report of the part taken by this command in the fight at Blick's farm (Weldon Railroad), on the 19th of the present month:

At 5 p. m. the enemy attacked the right of the line occupied by the Fifth Corps, driving in the skirmishers and capturing the works to the right of the Weldon Railroad, with a considerable portion of the troops holding these works. As soon as the firing was commenced by the enemy, I ordered my command under arms and at once changed the front of my line so as to face toward the point at which the attack was made. Then, by order of General Willcox, commanding division,

moved forward as a support to the First Brigade, but soon after was ordered to move to the left.

When I had moved far enough in this direction to cover my whole front I was again ordered to move forward. This move bringing my line in contact with the enemy just coming out of the woods, I ordered a halt and opened fire at once, which soon drove back the attacking force. I was then ordered to form the brigade in two lines, and to move some distance farther to the left, then to charge into the woods, and, if possible, drive the enemy from the works from which he had a short time before driven a portion of the Fifth Corps. As I moved into the woods without connection, either on my right or left, the advance was made cautiously until near the works occupied by the enemy. Then the charge was ordered at the double-quick. This charge was gallantly made, and resulted in the capture of the colors of the Forty-seventh Virginia Regiment, 100 prisoners, and the occupation of the pit by the brigade. An hour afterward a portion of the Fifth Corps (Crawford's division, I think), moved up and occupied the pit on my right. The pit on my left was occupied about the same time by troops from the same corps. After this pit had been taken the enemy made three separate attacks, on the part occupied by my command, but each attack was finely repulsed.

The losses of the brigade for this engagement were twelve enlisted men killed, one officer and thirty-eight enlisted men wounded, and three enlisted men missing; total, one officer and fifty-three men.

The conduct of the officers and men of the brigade during this engagement was all that could be desired. The advance to the first attack was made coolly and in perfect order, the charge on the pits was gallantly made, and the several attacks of the enemy promptly met and repulsed.

On the morning of the 20th, I set a detail of men to gather up the arms and accoutrements that lay strewn along the line and through the wood. Five hundred and thirteen stands were collected.

These arms were mostly found either standing along the pit, with the accoutrements hanging along the muzzles of the pieces, or in a line of stacks some distance in the rear of the pits.

The brigade occupied these works till the morning of the 20th, when it was drawn back to the rear of the woods, in which position it remained until 2 a. m. of the 21st, when it was drawn still farther back and to the right and rear of the Fifth Corps. Here it remained until after the engagement of this day. On the morning of the 20th, the Sixtieth Ohio Infantry was sent out to occupy the old works with a picket line, and lost in the attack of this morning two enlisted men wounded and one officer and fifty-four enlisted men missing.

Attached I send a list of casualties for the 19th, 20th and 21st, showing a loss during the three days of thirteen enlisted men killed, two officers and forty-five enlisted men wounded, and one officer and sixty-three enlisted men missing.

The above report is respectfully submitted.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HUMPHREY,

Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Captain Richards,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Third Division, Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 1, Serial 87, Page 597.)

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY OF OPERATIONS AUGUST 20--21.

Hdqs. Twentieth Regt., Michigan Vol. Infy.,
In the trenches before Petersburg, Va., near the Aiken House,
Weldon Railroad, August 28, 1864.

Sir—In compliance with orders from headquarters Second Brigade, Third Division, Ninth Army Corps, I have the honor to make the following report of operations of my command on the 20th and 21st of August, 1864:

August 20, at daylight, threw out regular pickets, and about 10 a. m., the main line was withdrawn from the woods. Immediately this regiment was ordered to retake the position in the rifle-pits as support of the skirmishers, which we did, deploying so as to occupy the front previously occupied by the brigade. At the same time a detail was made for the gathering up of arms and accoutrements, which lay in large numbers in the woods. In the course of the afternoon the enemy made several demonstrations upon our skirmish line, driving in our skirmishers, but did not press their attack upon the reserve. During the night everything remained quiet. At 8 a. m. of August 21, the regiment was relieved by the Twenty-fourth New York Volunteer Cavalry, and took its position with the remainder of the brigade near the Yellow house. Shortly after, the enemy made an attack upon our lines, but the regiment did not become actively engaged and suffered no loss. Near the close of the action, with the Second Michigan, Forty-sixth New York Volunteers, and the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, we took position near the edge of the woods north of the Yellow house, but were soon afterward withdrawn and established on a line with some redoubts, a short distance from the Weldon Railroad, and threw up heavy breastworks, where we remained for the rest of the day.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BYRON M. CUTCHEON.

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Twentieth Michigan.

Captain Thomas Mathews.

Acting Asst. Adjt. Gen., Second Brig., Third Div., Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 1, Serial 87, Page 570.)

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY, OF OPERATIONS SEPTEMBER 30--OCTOBER 8.

Hdqs. Twentieth Michigan Infantry Volunteers,
Near Peebles' House, Va., October 16, 1864.

Sir—In compliance with circular from headquarters, Second Brigade, First

Division, Ninth Army Corps, of this date, I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of this regiment west of the Weldon Railroad:

September 30, 1864, we were in readiness to march at 6:30 a. m., but we did not move until between the hours of 10 and 11 a. m. On reaching the Peebles' farm, we were formed in line in the low ground west of the house, facing nearly westward. This regiment occupied the left of the brigade line, and was soon after detached with the Second Michigan and sent up the road to the westward to guard the approach from that direction. I sent scouts some way up the road, who reported no enemy. We were soon after withdrawn and joined the brigade, which now moved about half a mile to the right, and reformed, with its left resting nearly west of the Pegram house, with a dense swamp in front. By direction of the general commanding the brigade, I sent Lieutenant Parker with twelve men as skirmishers to penetrate this swamp and report upon its practicability. The skirmishers passed through the swamp and reported that it could be passed, but with difficulty. I reported accordingly. Soon after we again moved to the right, crossing a country road and changing front forward, came into line nearly facing the north, the left resting upon the two log barns on the road already mentioned. At this time this regiment was the extreme left of our army, with nothing between it and the enemy's works, which curved around our left, except a very thin line of skirmishers.

In our rear was an almost impenetrable swamp jungle. The works upon our left seemed to be occupied only by cavalry, at least they did not develop either artillery or infantry upon that flank, but a regiment or brigade of cavalry, since known to be Hampton's, occupied the works near a yellow house on their line.

While we were lying in this position waiting further orders, the enemy charged upon the line to the right of the brigade and succeeded in breaking it. Our line, however, maintained its position, until the enemy was upon our flank and rear, when I received orders to fall back in good order, which I did. On reaching the road before mentioned I halted and again faced the enemy; I again received orders to fall back, which I did in perfect order until reaching the swamp, by which we were cut off from the rest of the brigade. As we were about entering the swamp, the enemy's cavalry charged upon our left flank, pouring in several volleys as the men were forcing their way with great difficulty through the swamp, tangled with vines and brambles.

At this point I lost two officers and twenty-one men. Adjutant J. E. Siebert, a most valuable officer, fell while steadying and encouraging the men; Captain Oliver Blood also fell here mortally wounded, and was taken by the enemy. He was also a meritorious officer.

Of the men captured, quite a number were wounded, but the exact number I am not able to state. After extricating ourselves from the swamp I rallied and reformed the regiment as speedily as possible and took position a little to the left of the Pegram house in a belt of woods. In conjunction with Major Stearns of the Sixtieth Ohio, I threw out skirmishers to protect our left flank, connecting with the One Hundred and Ninth New York. It was now dark. We lay upon our arms until midnight, when our pickets were relieved by the Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, and we moved back and took position on the ridge near

Clements' house west of the Peebles' house; here, by daylight, we had thrown up a good breastwork, with pickets well out in front. By 7 a. m. all stragglers had rejoined the regiment and at that hour we moved down by the right flank into the flat west of the Peebles house, where we threw up a second line of breastworks. At this time our skirmishers were driven in, but the attack did not reach the main line. These works we occupied until the next morning, the rain meanwhile falling in torrents, making our position on the flat very disagreeable.

At about 8 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, October 2, 1864, we again advanced in line, the Forty-sixth New York being upon our right, until we reached the Pegram house, when the enemy opened some light guns upon us, which did us no damage. We next moved by the left flank a short distance, and threw up another line of breastworks, which we occupied until near night, when we were again withdrawn and took position near the rebel fort in front of the Peebles' house, here we felled timber and threw up the fourth line of breastworks within two days.

The next day we went into camp on the same ground, where we remain at the present time. On the 8th instant we participated in a reconnaissance on the enemy's right flank, in which we did not become actually engaged nor did we suffer any loss. This regiment was assigned no special duty, except to cover the withdrawal of the troops, which was successfully done, this regiment coming in after dark.

Appended is a list of casualties on the 30th ultimo.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Volunteers.

Captain Thomas Mathews

Acting Asst. Adjt. Gen., Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps

(Official Records, Vol. XLII. Part 1. Serial 87, Page 568.)

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY, COMMANDING SECOND BRIGADE, OF OPERATIONS OCTOBER 27--28.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
October 29, 1864.

Captain—In accordance with orders from headquarters, First Division, Ninth Army Corps, October 28, 1864, I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of this brigade on the 27th and 28th instant:

At 2 a. m. of the 27th camp was broken, and at 3 a. m. the brigade was in column ready to move. At 3:30 a. m. the column passed corps headquarters en route, and at 4 a. m. halted at our outer vedettes. Waited until Colonel McLaughlin's brigade had passed to my right and filed along the old rebel breastworks.

Meanwhile I deployed the Second Michigan as skirmishers along the edge of the woods east of the Smith house, the Twentieth Michigan supporting them in line, and the remainder of the brigade moving by the left flank in the following order: Sixtieth Ohio, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, First Michigan Sharpshooters (the Forty-sixth New York had been left in garrison at Fort Cummings). My order was to advance as soon as I heard from Colonel McLaughlin, which I did, keeping my right in the direction of the Smith house.

On reaching that house the left swung forward and we advanced rapidly in a direction nearly westward. McLaughlin's skirmishers being withdrawn on my right, I ordered my skirmishers to gain ground in that direction as they advanced, until they should cover the road running westward from the Hawks' house. The right of the skirmish line being delayed in passing the swamp in front of the Hawks' house and some misconception of orders occurring at the same time, the left of Colonel March's line swung forward until it was formed nearly perpendicular with the Duncan road instead of the one intended. As soon as I discovered this I corrected the error as quickly as possible, but a delay of nearly half an hour was caused by this mistake. As soon as the line was again established on the proper front, I directed Colonel March to push forward vigorously and attack promptly any force of the enemy he might encounter. He did so, driving the enemy's skirmishers rapidly before him, closely supported by the balance of the brigade, until, on emerging from the woods in front of the Clements' house, at about 9 a. m., he found himself confronted by a line of works well filled with men and protected by an almost impervious slashing. Colonel March advanced his line close up to the slashing, the left of his line entering it, but finding the position too strong to attack, he halted and reported the situation. The supporting regiments (Twentieth Michigan and Fifty-first Pennsylvania) now moved up close to the slashing and began throwing up slight pits for their protection.

Meanwhile the brigade was put in line, supported by General Hartranft's brigade, and the skirmishers engaged the enemy vigorously. By 10 a. m. I had established my connections with Ferrero on my right and with the Fifth Corps on my left, and General Hartranft had moved into a position on my left. At about 10 a. m. we were ordered to be ready to charge the enemy's works at the same time that the Fifth Corps attacked. I made dispositions accordingly, but Colonel March sent back word that there was a slashing of heavy timber in his front, from ten to thirty rods in width, and that it would be impossible to charge through it with any hope of success, but that he thought that an attack was practicable upon the left, where there was no slashing. I held the brigade in readiness to attack until about noon, when we were ordered to throw up rifle-pits, which was very quickly done, a good substantial line being constructed. At 4 p. m. we commenced slashing in our front and continued it till dark, by which time we had a strong line.

Meanwhile, at about 2 p. m., the Second Michigan, Colonel March commanding, being nearly out of ammunition, was relieved by the Sixtieth Ohio, Major Stearns commanding, but the left of the Second Michigan had advanced so far into the slashing that it was impossible for them to retire by daylight, and near

night the enemy made a dash from their works and captured them. There were of them one officer (Adjutant Schneider) and four men. Until near dark the skirmish line of this brigade had covered the front of Hartranft's brigade also, but at night this part of the line was relieved by skirmishers from the First Brigade, and the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, which had heretofore been in support of the right of my brigade skirmish line, was shifted to the left and put in support of the skirmishers of the First Brigade. In this order we rested upon our arms for the night. As soon as it was dark the enemy advanced a strong picket line into the slashing, which was withdrawn before daylight.

On the morning of the 28th we continued the slashing until we received orders to be ready to move, when we sent all the tools to the wagons and put all things in readiness. I withdrew the Twentieth Michigan from the skirmish line and put them in reserve in rear of the brigade. At 11:30 a. m. we received orders to move to the right and relieve the left brigade of Ferrero's division. Before commencing the movement, I withdrew the reserve of the Sixtieth Ohio from the skirmish line, and deployed it in rear of the main breastworks. We then moved to the right, keeping closed up on the colored troops. Major Stearns now withdrew his reserve and deployed it, by order of the division officer of the day, in front of McLaughlin's brigade (which now occupied the second line of works) with its right resting on the breastworks. I now moved in rear of Russell's brigade (colored) until my right rested on General Potter's left, when I reformed my line with my left refused, and as the skirmishers of the Third division withdrew from my right, I replaced them with a detail from the First Michigan Sharpshooters. As soon as McLaughlin had retired and I was notified that General Hartranft was retiring by the left, I received an order from the general commanding to withdraw by the left flank and take position with my right resting on the dismantled fort near the Hawks house, which I did, keeping my front still covered with a portion of the Sixtieth Ohio, while the remainder covered the flank. When everything had withdrawn beyond the swamp in front of the Hawks house, I withdrew, following McLaughlin, and coming within the works, occupied our old position at 3:30 p. m., having suffered a loss of only thirty, of whom five were missing from the Second Michigan. A list of casualties has been already forwarded, to which I respectfully refer you.

BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Captain J. D. Bertollette,

Assistant Adjutant General, First Division, Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 1, Serial 87, Page 74.)

ITINERARY—SECOND BRIGADE, FIRST DIVISION.

August 1 to 15—In division line before Petersburg, Va., entrenching, picketing and sharpshooting.

August 15—Moved to the Fifth Corps redoubts and picketed the line of the Jerusalem plank road.

August 19—Moved toward Weldon Railroad; went into action near Yellow house.

August 21—Again in action near Yellow house.

August 25—Moved short distance to the left to support Hancock.

August 27—Moved to the right and relieved Fourth Division.

September 1—Occupied part of the line near the Aiken house, between the Jerusalem plank road and Weldon Railroad; were engaged chiefly in fortifying and building corduroy roads.

September 7—Moved camp to the Williams house, on the plank road, on our rear line of defenses, and continued the work already begun.

September 20—Relieved the cavalry pickets in our front by details from our brigade; picketed on our front until the 26th, when the cavalry again occupied the line. Have been employed all the time since moving to this camp in work on the fortifications.

September 29—Received orders about 1 a. m. to have brigade in line about 4 o'clock, ready to march; lay in line all day, and in the evening went into camp near the Gurley house, about one mile and a half from our former camp.

September 30—Colonel Humphrey was relieved from command and mustered out of service, and Brigadier General J. F. Hartranft assigned to command. Moved about 9:10 a. m., following Second Division; moved slowly toward Poplar Spring Church; reached the Peebles' house, near the works of the enemy just captured by the Fifth Corps and formed in line of battle about 1 p. m. Brigade was moved from one position to another during the afternoon, and finally was engaged with the enemy near the Pegram house just before dark.

Occupied the extreme left, and the line of troops on our right being forced back, we were compelled to retire, the enemy on both flanks and rapidly coming in our rear. Moved back a short distance and reformed, holding the line near the Pegram house.

Established a picket line, and about 12:00 midnight withdrew to the left of a newly established line and fortified. Left the Twenty-fourth New York (dismounted) Cavalry on picket where the line was first established. The loss of the brigade during the day was one commissioned officer and five enlisted men killed, three commissioned officers and forty-five enlisted men wounded, eight commissioned officers and one hundred and fifty enlisted men missing; aggregate, 212. This number included several captured early next morning from the picket line, who were reported in the list of casualties for September 30, 1864.

October 1—Were engaged in fortifying all day. * * *

October 2—The brigade advanced again to the Boisseau house in connection with the rest of the corps and the Fifth and one division of the Second Corps. After some skirmishing with the enemy a new line was established, extending to the Pegram house.

This brigade held the left of the line connecting with the old works of the enemy; remained here fortifying until the 8th.

October 8—Joined the Third Brigade in reconnaissance west on the Squirrel Level road; advanced about one mile and a half, meeting a strong line of the enemy's skirmishers; returned to camp at dusk.

October 9—General Hartranft was relieved, and Lieutenant Colonel Newberry, Twenty-fourth New York Cavalry, assumed command.

October 16—Lieutenant Colonel Newberry received leave of absence, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel B. M. Cutcheon, Twentieth Michigan.

October 18—The Twenty-fourth New York moved to City Point to be mounted.

October 27—Broke camp at 3 a. m. and moved with the army in its advance to the Boylston plank road. The Forty-sixth New York was left to garrison Fort Cummings. The brigade had the advance of the Ninth Corps, and moved forward on the Squirrel Level road. The enemy's pickets and skirmishers fell back to their works, and were followed to within a short distance of their main line. Erected temporary breastworks here.

October 28—Remained until 11:30 a. m. skirmishing with the enemy, when orders were received to retire. Returned to the old camp, having lost two officers and twenty-three enlisted men wounded, and one officer and four enlisted men missing.

(November)—The brigade participated in no movement of importance during the month. Remained in camp at Peebles' farm, until November 29, when it moved with the division to the extreme right of the line, relieving a brigade of the Second Corps.

(December)—The brigade has not changed camp or engaged in any movement during the month.

December 13—The Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry (dismounted) was detached from the command and ordered to City Point for the purpose of being mounted.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 3, Page 462.)

ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND BRIGADE, OCTOBER 31, 1864.

FIRST DIVISION.

Brigadier General Orlando B. Willcox.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon.

First Michigan Sharpshooters—Captain George H. Murdock.

Second Michigan—Lieutenant Colonel Edwin J. March.

Twentieth Michigan—Captain Alfred A. Van Cleave.

Forty-sixth New York—Captain Adolph Becker.

Sixtieth Ohio—Lieutenant Colonel Martin P. Avery.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania—Captain George W. Brumm.

(Official Record, Vol. XLII, Part 3, Page 565.)

ELECTION RETURNS, SECOND BRIGADE.

Headquarters Ninth Army Corps,
November 8, 1864.

Brig. Gen. S. Williams—The following is the result of the election in this corps by regiments, majorities only given:

Twentieth Michigan—Republican majority, 118.

Second Michigan—Republican majority, 54.

First Michigan Sharpshooters—Republican majority, 55.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers—Republican majority, 71.

Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers—Republican majority, 52.

JOHN G. PARKE,
Major General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLII, Part 3, Page 757.)

GENERAL ORDERS NO. 34.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
Near Petersburg, Va., November 30, 1864.

1. In obedience to orders of the brigadier general commanding the division, the following dispositions of the regiments comprising this brigade will be made:

2. The Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry will hold the line from the right where its right now rests to Battery No. 5, and will garrison Battery No. 5.

3. The First Michigan Sharpshooters will occupy the line to the right of Fort McGilvery.

4. The Fiftieth Pennsylvania will garrison Fort McGilvery. If there is not sufficient room in the fort to quarter the whole number, the surplus will encamp in the ravine in rear of the fort near old Battery No. 8.

5. The Forty-sixth New York Veteran Volunteers will hold the line between Fort McGilvery and Battery No. 9.

6. The Twentieth Michigan will garrison Battery No. 9, with one company in the apron on the left of the battery.

7. The Second Michigan will occupy the works with the left of the Twentieth Michigan to the angle of the works between Batteries Nos. 9 and 10.

8. The Sixtieth Ohio will be held in reserve, and will encamp on the ground formerly occupied by the headquarters of Colonel Murphy, a little distance in rear of Fort McGilvery.

9. The necessary changes of position by the regiments will be made immediately after dark this evening.

By command of Lieutenant Colonel B. M. Cutcheon.

THOS. MATHEWS,
Captain and Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol XLII, Part 3, Page 1121.)

ORGANIZATION OF SECOND BRIGADE, DECEMBER 31, 1864.

FIRST DIVISION.

Brevet Brigadier General Napoleon B. McLaughlin.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon.

First Michigan Sharpshooters—Major Asahael W. Nichols.

Second Michigan—Lieutenant Colonel Edwin J. March.

Twentieth Michigan—Major Claudius B. Grant.

Forty-sixth New York—Captain Victor Praxmarer.

Sixtieth Ohio—Lieutenant Colonel Martin P. Avery.

Fiftieth Pennsylvania—Captain George W. Brumm.

(Official Records, Vol. LI, Part 1, Serial 107, Page 1188.)

LETTER OF MAJOR GENERAL PARKE, COMMANDING NINTH CORPS.

Headquarters Ninth Army Corps,

November 19, 1864.

Brigadier Gen. S. Williams, Assistant Adjutant General, Army of the Potomac:

General—On the 15th of September I submitted recommendations for promotion by brevet of officers of this corps. * * *

Among the remaining mentioned officers many changes have taken place, by means of resignation, muster out and promotion.

I would therefore submit the following recommendations in lieu of the list made September 15, taking it for granted that Generals Willcox and Potter, Colonel Curtin and Lieutenant Benjamin will receive their brevet commissions: * * * Lieutenant Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Twentieth Michigan Volunteers, recommended for brevet colonel for gallantry at the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, wounded May 10, and brevet brigadier general for gallantry on the Weldon Railroad and in subsequent actions, now commanding the Second Brigade, and well qualified.

APPENDIX "G."

PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN, 1865.

- I. Organization of Brigade, March 29, 1865.
- II. Itinerary Ninth Corps, January 1 to April 26, 1865.
- III. Report of Colonel Ralph Ely of the Attack on Fort Stedman, March 25, 1865.
- IV. Report of Captain A. A. Day, Commanding the Regiment, of Attack on Fort Stedman, March 25, 1865.
- V. Report of Colonel Ralph Ely, Commanding Brigade, of Operations April 1 to April 6, 1865.
- VI. Report of Captain A. A. Day, Commanding Regiment, of Operations March 29 to April 18, 1865.
- VII. Report of Major General Orlando B. Willcox, Commanding First Division, Operations March 29 to April 9, 1865.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 573.)

ORGANIZATION OF SECOND BRIGADE, MARCH 29, 1865.

Same as organization October 31, 1864.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 107.)

NINTH ARMY CORPS.

(January)—The troops occupy same position as at date of last return, and no movement has taken place during the month.

(February)—There has been no movement of the corps during the month, except the Third Division.

February 5—Third Division moved to the left near Hatcher's Run, where it remained under the orders of Major General Humphrey's until the evening of the 10th.

February 10—It was relieved and returned to its former camp.

March 1 to 25—Nothing unusual occurred along the lines of the corps.

March 25—In the morning the enemy made a desperate assault on Fort Stedman, in front of the lines of the First Division, and succeeded, after a determined resistance on the part of the garrison, in gaining temporary possession

of it. The lines were firmly held on either side of the fort until the Third Division, Brevet Major General Hartranft commanding, came up, when a charge was made by his division and a portion of the First Division, which soon resulted in the recapture of the fort and the capture of a large number of prisoners, besides inflicting upon the enemy a severe loss in killed and wounded while being driven back to his works. Our loss was comparatively small.

Everything remained as usual during the remainder of the month, with the exception of more continued artillery firing.

April 1—Corps occupied the trenches before Petersburg, Va.

April 2—Engaged in the general assault upon the enemy, principally upon the works in front of Fort Sedgwick.

April 3—Marched through Petersburg in pursuit of Lee's retreating army, excepting First Division, which was left to guard the south side railroad from Petersburg to Black's and White's Station, extending to the latter place.

April 15—The Second Brigade, Second Division, moved as far as Burkeville, and the First Brigade to Farmville. The Third Division remained at Nottoway Court House, which place it reached on the 8th.

April 20—Corps ordered to Washington, D. C., and started at once for City Point for Embarkation.

April 24—The First Division arrived at Alexandria, Va.

April 25—The Third Division arrived.

April 26—The Second Division arrived. The First Division moved through Washington and encamped near Tennallytown, D. C.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 325).

REPROT OF BREVET COLONEL RALPH ELY, EIGHTH MICHIGAN INFANTRY, COMMANDING SECOND BRIGADE, OF OPERATIONS MARCH 25.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
March 27, 1865.

Major—I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of my command in the action of the 25th instant:

I first learned that an attack had been made by an officer of the Second Michigan informing me about 4 a. m. that the enemy had entered our main line of works between the Second and Third Brigades and had wheeled round and attacked the left of the Second Michigan.

I immediately visited the line, and gave such orders as, in the darkness and under the uncertainties of the situation, I deemed practicable. I at once sent orders to Major Schwenk, whose regiment (the Fiftieth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers) was in camp about two miles down the river, to send up all his effective men.

Being unable on account of the darkness, to determine the relative positions of our own men and those of the enemy only by the flashing of the guns, I ordered

fifty men of the first Michigan Sharpshooters to be deployed as skirmishers and advance toward Fort Stedman.

This company advanced in good style, and skirmished to a point in the field in rear of the Second Michigan. The attack on the Second Michigan had been made on their left by a heavy force of the enemy coming down the line of the breastworks and the old wagon road at the rear, thus having an enfilading and rear fire on that regiment. So suddenly had this been done that no line was formed, and the left companies were driven in upon the right, and some of the men took refuge in Battery No. 9. Captain Boughton, however, quickly formed a line in rear of the left traverse, extending across the old wagon road, and though left with only a small portion of the regiment, checked the enemy in a splendid manner, who, instead of forcing their way, or by any means getting possession of any part of my line, were held there.

As the light increased and the position of the enemy became more clearly defined, the fire of the musketry and artillery was more effective. They were cut off and subsequently captured.

In an early part of the engagement I sent orders to Lieutenant Bangs, commanding artillery in Battery No. 5, who had been replying to the enemy's batteries on the north side of the river, to direct his fire on Fort Stedman. He obeyed, and with both guns and mortars, did excellent execution. Major Roemer, commanding the artillery in Fort McGilvery, kept up from the first a rapid and effective fire. I should not neglect mentioning that the gallant major, while aiming a gun, was struck by a piece of shell, knocked down and severely injured, but continued in active command until the action was over. The artillery in Battery No. 9 did all that could have been asked. Upon the arrival of the Fiftieth Pennsylvania I ordered them to take a position on the right of the Seventeenth Michigan, which had moved up and occupied a line of rifle-pits in rear of the line assumed by the disposition of my men, and all keeping up a brisk fire. The enemy was completely baffled, and, under the terrible fire of the artillery, were soon forced to yield their hold on the road and began to retreat. To escape the galling fire of the Second and Twentieth Michigan and part of the Sixtieth Ohio, kept up from the first, 300 or 400 of the enemy took refuge in bomb-proofs and behind traverses in the line, and were unable to escape. No portion of my line was removed, except as above mentioned, and no part of the picket line was abandoned except in front of the Second Michigan, and that was reoccupied at an early part of the action and materially assisted in preventing the escape of the prisoners.

In view of the suddenness of the attack and its complete success at first, too much praise cannot be given the different regiments of the brigade for the coolness and bravery with which they did their duty. Throughout the action the entire line sustained a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, but all damages done to the works were repaired during the day after the fight.

Prisoners were captured to the number of 316, rank and file and 17 officers. The losses of the brigade foots up as follows: Second Michigan, one killed, eight wounded, nineteen missing; Twentieth Michigan, nine wounded; Sixtieth

Ohio, one killed, six wounded; Forty-sixth New York, two killed, three wounded; total, 49.

I am, major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

RALPH ELY,

Brevet Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Brevet Major William V. Richards,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General, First Division, Ninth Army Corps.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 328.)

REPORT OF CAPTAIN ALBERT A. DAY, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY, OF OPERATIONS MARCH 25.

Hdqrs. Twentieth Michigan Vols., Battery No. 9.

Before Petersburg, Va., March 27, 1865.

Major—With regard to the part sustained by this regiment in the recent action of March 25, 1865, on this front, I would respectfully report as follows:

At 4 a. m., March 25, my alarm guard having notified me of rapid firing in front of Fort Stedman, I caused the command to be turned out under arms. The firing soon being discontinued, I returned the men to quarters, with instructions to keep their accoutrements on and to remain awake and on the alert. At 4:30 a. m. the firing commenced with renewed vigor and rapidity and the men were again turned out. Nothing of marked importance occurred at this time on my immediate front. At 5 a. m. the fort on my left (Stedman) was carried by the enemy by assault, the artillery captured in the works and turned on this battery, and the enemy thrown rapidly down the road in rear of our lines in such dispositions as threatened the left and rear of this work. I immediately moved my two right consolidated companies behind the left, and the Second Michigan Volunteers, a part of which regiment had been driven inside of this battery, behind the rear face of this work, leaving the other four consolidated companies in a position to defend the front and right, which were at the time threatened by the two lines of the enemy perfectly distinguishable, but not as yet out of cover of their works.

My officers reported to me that these lines were about to be charged upon just before the final repulse of the enemy on their right, but being instantly met by a well-directed volley from this battery, their officers appeared unable to get the men over their works. Meanwhile, it having grown sufficiently light to disclose the enemy in heavy mass on the slope of a hill to the right of Fort Stedman, and also in the road in rear of same, I immediately caused the men, about 150 in number, to open a rapid musketry fire on those of their troops who occupied these positions. I have reason to believe that this firing was very effective, being at easy long range, well directed, and its object being a body of men in heavy mass, occupying a side hill, the face of which was presented to this battery. This firing was continued throughout the engagement. At 7:30 a. m.

the enemy being completely broken and retreating rapidly in disorder, I threw a part of my regiment into the skirmish line on the left of this battery, in order to check them as they attempted to cross the main line on their retreat.

Three hundred and fifteen men and their officers were thus captured and forwarded to brigade headquarters under guard. A large number of small arms were also captured, and have this day been turned over to the proper ordnance officer. It having been reported to the general commanding, that Battery No. 9 was captured, several shots were fired from Battery Dunn, taking effect in the quarters of my second consolidated company. Fortunately no lives were lost through this error, and upon the colors being promptly placed in a conspicuous place, this firing from the rear ceased.

Nine men belonging to this regiment were wounded during the engagement.

I have only to add that Batteries C and I, Fifth United States, commanded by Lieutenant Huysman, and a section of Company K, First Connecticut Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Brown, deserve much credit for the part sustained by their men in the defense of this fort. The officers and men of this command acted throughout with perfect coolness and regularity.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ALBERT A. DAY,

Captain, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Volunteer Infantry.

Brevet Major C. A. Lounsberry,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 1047.)

REPORT OF BREVET COLONEL RALPH ELY, EIGHTH MICHIGAN INFANTRY, COMMANDING SECOND BRIGADE.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
April 6, 1865.

Major—I have the honor to submit the following report of the part performed by my brigade in the occupation of Petersburg:

Pursuant to instructions from General Willcox, my command was disposed for a charge at 4 a. m. on the 2d instant. Two columns were formed for assault. The Second Michigan Veteran Volunteers, supported by the Twentieth Michigan Volunteers, was to assault on the left of the brigade; the First Michigan Sharpshooters, supported by the Forty-sixth New York Veteran Volunteers, was to assault on the right of the line; the Fiftieth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers and Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers were held in reserve. At 4:05 a. m., I received orders to make the best demonstration possible. I immediately gave the necessary orders, and a brisk skirmish commenced along my whole line. The First Michigan Sharpshooters, Lieutenant Colonel Nichols commanding, advanced rapidly and occupied the rebel line, where it rests on the Appomattox. These gallant men did nobly, but they were forced back by superior numbers, with a loss of forty-one killed and missing.

The total loss of the brigade in this affair was eighty-six. Sunday evening I directed that one of my staff should remain on the line during the night and watch closely the movements of the enemy. About 1:30 a. m. I notified the commanding officers of the First Michigan Sharpshooters and Second Michigan Veteran Volunteers to hold themselves in readiness to make a demonstration on the right of my front at 4 a. m., and perhaps sooner.

I received orders at 2:30 through Captain Keyser to make a demonstration immediately, as a deserter had come in on Colonel Robinson's front and reported that the rebels had all left except the picket line. I ordered Brevet Major Lounsberry, assistant adjutant general, to awaken the command immediately, and order the First Michigan Sharpshooters and Second Michigan to report to him on the picket line for further orders. I instructed the major to form the two regiments as quickly as possible, to throw out scouts and a heavy skirmish line and occupy the main rebel works if possible. I directed that so soon as the balance of the brigade reached the abatis after the occupation of the main works, the advance should move rapidly, but cautiously, forward and plant a color upon some public building in the city.

At 3:10 a. m., all being in readiness, the advance moved rapidly forward and occupied the main works of the enemy, when the boys gave three hearty cheers, reformed their lines, partially broken by the obstacles they had passed, and pressed forward. The advance pushed forward as rapidly as possible under the circumstances, as it was necessary to keep scouts well out in front and on the flanks.

The ground was unfavorable for rapid movement, yet the flag of the First Michigan Sharpshooters was hoisted on the Court House at 4:28 a. m., and the flag of the Second Michigan on the Custom House a few moments later.

The left of my brigade moved slowly, because of the necessity of keeping connection with the troops on my left. My whole command reached the vicinity of the Court House before 6 a. m. So soon as I saw my advance leave the rebel works and proceed forward, I ordered the pioneers to clear the road for artillery. Captain Stone, Fifth U. S. Artillery, followed the pioneers, and reached the Court House with two pieces just after daylight. At 4:25 a. m., Major Lounsberry was met in front of the Court House by three citizens bearing a flag of truce and a communication from the mayor and common council tendering the surrender of the town, and requesting that persons and private property be respected. But the gallant major could listen to no proposition until the "Old Flag" was floating from the highest point of the Court House steeple and proper pickets had been established in the vicinity, and patrols sent out to pick up stragglers, about 500 of whom we captured, many of them with arms, also seven flags or colors. The major then assured the gentlemen that we came in the name of liberty and in the defense of right, and that they need have no fear, for all would be well with them so long as they remained at home and conducted themselves properly. While the brigade was in the city all commands were implicitly honored and vigorously executed.

In his report, the major says:

During the advance the command moved in magnificent style. The men were

most completely under the control of their officers; not a man straggled, not a man left his place. The conduct of both officers and men was such as to reflect credit on our cause and cast a luster of glory over the profession of arms.

What was true of the First Michigan Sharpshooters and the Second Michigan, also applies truthfully to the rest of the command. I enclose herewith the "original" surrender of the city.

Respectfully submitted,

I remain, major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

RALPH ELY,

Brevet Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

Brevet Major William V. Richards,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 1048.)

REPORT OF CAPTAIN ALBERT A. DAY, TWENTIETH MICHIGAN INFANTRY.

Headquarters Twentieth Michigan Volunteers,
Ford's Farm, Va., April 18, 1865.

Major—In compliance with extract from Special Orders No. 94, dated Headquarters Army of the Potomac, April 14, 1865, I would respectfully report with regard to the operations of this regiment, as follows:

The alarm having been given, the command was promptly turned out between 10 and 11 o'clock the night of the 29th ultimo. With the exception of a desultory fire from the artillery of the enemy, nothing of importance took place during the night. The men remained under arms until daylight. Four men were wounded during the night. From that time forward the troops of this command in Battery No. 9 were almost constantly on the alert in expectation of an attack or evacuation on the part of the enemy, the men often being turned out three and four times during a night. On the morning of the 1st instant, fifty men were ordered into the skirmish pits to charge the enemy's works; the order being countermanded they were returned, to the regiment. The following morning the entire regiment was ordered out to support a charge to be made by the Second Michigan Volunteers before daylight. At daylight, nothing having been done on the left of Battery No. 9, where the Second Michigan was expected to make a demonstration, this regiment was ordered to form a line in rear of the skirmish pits in front of Fort McGilvery. After remaining in that position until about 9 a. m., the regiment was ordered back to Battery No. 9.

On the morning of the 3rd instant, a short time before daylight, the evacuation of the enemy having been reported, the regiment entered the city of Petersburg the third in order, and the colors were placed with those of the First Michigan Sharpshooters on the Court House of that city. The men of the regiment were at once placed on duty as safeguards and provost guards. The regiment continued on such duty until the morning of the 5th instant, when it moved with the

brigade fifteen miles from Petersburg, on the Cox road, where it is at present on duty.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ALBERT A. DAY,

Captain, Commanding Twentieth Michigan Volunteer Infantry.

Brevet Major C. A. Lounsberry,

Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, Serial 95, Page 1039.)

REPORT OF BREVET MAJOR GENERAL ORLANDO B. WILLCOX, U. S. ARMY, COMMANDING FIRST DIVISION.

Headquarters First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
Washington, D. C., May 16, 1865.

Major—I have the honor to report the operations of this division in the field from the 29th of March to the 9th of April, 1865, inclusive:

On the night of the 29th of March, at 10:30 o'clock, the enemy opened on my lines, stretching from Fort Morton to the Appomattox, with all their artillery of every description, and some musketry from their main lines. At about 11 o'clock the artillery was lulled.

I expected an advance of the enemy's troops, and was ready to receive them, but no attack was made, and desultory firing of artillery only, continued through the night.

* * * * *

The sensitiveness of the enemy seemed to encourage our men.

Preparations were made on the 31st, as well as on April 1, for a night attack opposite Forts Haskell and Stedman, Third Brigade, and at a point in front of Ely's brigade, nearer the Appomattox.

Through the night of the 2d, various threatening demonstrations were made along the line, and the enemy's picket-pits captured at various points, in pursuance of orders from corps headquarters, made in aid of operations being carried on on the left of the army.

At about 1 o'clock on the morning of the 2d of April orders were received from corps headquarters to mass one brigade, except garrisons, by 4 o'clock on the same morning near Fort Sedgwick, on the Second Division front, where General Hartranft was to make a real attack with his division and a brigade from each of the other divisions, while by the same order I was directed to make a vigorous demonstration along my whole division line with the rest of my troops at the same hour. Colonel Harriman was accordingly detached with staff officers who knew the road, tools, ammunition, and every possible aid, to report to General Hartranft, and this brigade was in position and formed at the moment required.

The demonstration ordered along the line began precisely at 4 by the Second Brigade, Brevet Colonel Ralph Ely; Third Brigade, Brevet Colonel G. P. Rob-

inson, and Colonel William J. Bolton, commanding Fifty-first Pennsylvania, left on the First Brigade line of intrenchments.

Some of the enemy's picket-pits were captured near the old Crater by Colonel Bolton. The pickets of the Third and Second Brigades, strongly reinforced, advanced handsomely, the artillery opened vigorously, and large portions were drawn down to oppose what they considered a real attack in force.

On the extreme right, near the Appomattox, a portion of Ely's Brigade actually carried some 200 yards of the enemy's works, but our lines, two miles in length, were too attenuated to hold the ground. Some seventy-five prisoners were secured and brought in. Three regiments were withdrawn from other points and double-quickened to the point, but before it could be reinforced, the enemy recovered it.

The effect of this movement, however, on the general result was most happy, inasmuch as it contributed to weaken the enemy's line in front of Fort Sedgwick, where the real attack was completely successful. For the handsome part performed by Harriman's brigade of this division, at the latter point, I respectfully refer you to his own report and that of Brevet Major General Hartranft, commanding at that part of the line.

Through the day, offensive demonstrations were kept up, and the batteries playing in aid of the more serious work of the day going on further to our left. In the afternoon and evening, the enemy strengthened their line opposite me, but about midnight of the 2d, reports came up from Colonel Ely, commanding Second Brigade, and Colonel James Bintliff, now commanding Third Brigade, by virtue of his rank, that there were signs of the enemy withdrawing from our front, leaving only their picket line. I gave orders to the two brigade commanders to press through as soon as possible.

At about 2 o'clock on the morning of the 3d, some of our parties broke through, Bintliff's brigade advanced upon Cemetery Hill, and Ely more directly into the town, with a section of Stone's battery. I gave Colonel Ely orders to take measures at once to secure order in the city. At 4:28 a. m., one of his flags, that of the First Michigan Sharpshooters, was raised on the Court House, and that of the Second Michigan on the Custom House, a few minutes later, and guards were posted about the town. The enemy had fired the bridges, but with the aid of the negroes, who manned the fire engines, our troops extinguished the flames in time to save the main structures, and skirmishers were at once pushed across the river, picking up stragglers and other prisoners.

General Benham, commanding a brigade from City Point, who had taken post the night before in rear of my lines, entered the city, with me and allowed me the use of a detachment of 200 cavalry, part of which patrolled the town and part were sent across the river on a reconnaissance, to learn the direction of the enemy's main route of retreat, which duty was performed correctly, and reported to the lieutenant general commanding the armies, who early advanced into the town in person. In two hours, notwithstanding the presence of troops from every corps, including colored troops, Petersburg, which had been besieged by our army nearly ten months, was as quiet, and property and persons as safe, as in Washington, an instance of discipline and good conduct on the part of troops, unsurpassed in military history.

The number of prisoners captured on this and the following day, by scouring the country with scouting parties, was 1,045; number of muskets, 830; number of flags, 7 (forwarded to City Point to headquarters armies of the United States); value of quartermaster's and subsistence stores, \$20,000.

The division remained in Petersburg guarding the railroad two days when, by orders from corps headquarters, we moved up to Sutherland's Station, on South Side Railroad, and connecting there with the Third Division, moved up along the railroad as the army advanced, until the 3d of April, when we stretched from Sutherland's Station to Wellville.

For details of operations of the respective regiments of the division, I respectfully refer you to accompanying reports of the brigade commanders, and commend their notice of gallant officers and men to the approval of the major general commanding the corps for brevet appointments.

Accompanying the Second Brigade report, is the document of the city authorities surrendering the city of Petersburg to Colonel Ely.

O. B. WILLCOX,

Brevet Major General, Commanding.

Brevet Major John D. Bertollette,

Assistant Adjutant General, Ninth Army Corps and District of Alexandria.

APPENDIX "H."

IN THE TRENCHES—GRAND REVIEW—MUSTER OUT.

- I. Organization Second Brigade, January 31, 1865.
- II. Organization of First Division, February 4, 1865.
- III. Protest of Colonel B. M. Cutcheon against needless artillery firing, February 22, 1865.
- IV. Dispatch of Major General John G. Parke, on artillery firing, February 22, 1865.
- V. Order to Second Brigade, February 22, 1865.
- VI. General Orders as to regimental Battle Flags.
- VII. Letter of Brevet Major General O. B. Willcox, relative to Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon.
- VIII. Organization of Second Brigade, April 30, 1865.
- IX. Order for Division in Grand Review, May 23.
- X. Strength of Brigade at Grand Review.
- XI. Final Orders of General Willcox.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Page 331.)

ORGANIZATION OF SECOND BRIGADE, JANUARY 31, 1865.

Same as organization October 31, 1864.

During the month of January, 1865, Colonel Cutcheon, commanding the brigade, received a leave of absence of twenty days, and during his temporary absence from the front, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin J. March, Second Michigan, occupied brigade headquarters. Also on Colonel Cutcheon's resignation, March 6, 1865, Lieutenant Colonel March commanded for a few days until Colonel Ely, Eighth Michigan, was assigned to the command by the division commander, General O. B. Willcox.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Page 380.)

REPORT OF MAJOR GENERAL JOHN G. PARKE, FEBRUARY 4, 1865.

Headquarters Ninth Army Corps,
February 4, 1865.

Col. George D. Ruggles,

Assistant Adjutant General, Army of the Potomac:

Colonel—In accordance with circular of this date, I have the honor to report as follows:

First Division—First Brigade commanded by Colonel Samuel Harriman, Thirty-seventh Wisconsin Volunteers; Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Twenty-seventh Michigan Volunteers; Third Brigade, commanded by Brevet Brigadier General N. B. McLaughlen, U. S. Volunteers, Colonel Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Volunteers.

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I have the honor to be, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN G. PARKE,
Major General, Commanding.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Page 645.)

LETTER OF COLONEL BYRON M. CUTCHEON, ON FIRING.

Hdqrs. Second Brig., First Div., Ninth Army Corps,
February 22, 1865.

Lieutenant Col. P. M. Lydig,

Assistant Adjutant General, Ninth Army Corps:

Colonel—I desire respectfully to represent to the general commanding the corps, the character and results of the artillery firing upon this front. You are well aware that the expression, "Heavy Firing on the Appomattox Today," has become a stereotyped phrase, both in our journals and those of our enemy. I suppose there has been more firing upon this front than upon the whole remaining line of the Army of the Potomac. This firing is entirely beyond the control of the commanding officers of the infantry on the line, who are the sole sufferers from the firing. This firing seems to be directed by no general principle, and is directed at anything and everything, and sometimes apparently nothing, and when over, we stand the same that we did, minus a few good men. From the shelling my brigade has not lost less than 30 men since occupying this line, while the artillerymen, protected by strong fort traverses, have not lost a man, so far as I am aware. Take the example of today: The fight began by Battery No. 5 shelling a couple of cars loaded with commissary stores. It was a long time before the enemy replied, but they did at last open with all their metal, and the result is that tonight I have three valuable men lying dead in the hospital and three more disabled. Whatever perils and hardships the necessary exigencies of

the service require, of course we expect to submit to without murmur or remonstrance; but I submit that the necessary peril and expenditure of life is amply sufficient without any needless or frivolous sacrifices, and, as our batteries always take the initiative, I am unable to understand why it is necessary to expend so much more ammunition on this than other parts of the line.

I am, Colonel, your obedient servant,

BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

Colonel, Commanding Brigade.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Page 642.)

LETTER OF MAJOR GENERAL JOHN G. PARKE, FEBRUARY 22, 1865.

Headquarters Ninth Army Corps,
February 22, 1865.

General J. A. Rawlins,

Chief of Staff, City Point:

The firing was commenced by our people opening from No. 5 upon a train of cars on Richmond and Petersburg Railroad. The enemy replied from Chesterfield, Goose Neck, and their several mortar batteries in front of the line from Stedman to our right.

JOHN G. PARKE,

Major General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Page 644.)

LETTER OF CAPTAIN R. A. HUTCHINS, TO COLONEL B. M. CUTCHEON.

Headquarters First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
February 22, 1865.

Col. Byron M. Cutcheon,

Commanding Second Brigade:

In accordance with instructions from corps headquarters, you will order the First Michigan Sharpshooters, Second Michigan, and Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers, to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice, in light marching order, with sixty rounds of ammunition and four days' rations. The other regiments of your brigade will garrison the works on your front. The present picket will remain under charge of the officers already detailed. In case of a movement you will assume command of the entire line of this division, and the above named regiments will report to Brevet Colonel G. P. Robinson, commanding Third Brigade, at his headquarters.

I am, very respectfully,

ROBT A. HUTCHINS,

Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Pages 865 and 867.)

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
March 7, 1865.

General Orders
No. 10.

In accordance with the requirements of General Orders No. 19, of 1862, from the War Department, and in conformity with the reports of boards convened to examine into the services rendered by the troops concerned, and by the authority of the lieutenant general commanding Armies of the United States, it is ordered that there shall be inscribed upon the colors of guidons of the following regiments and batteries serving in this army the names of the battles in which they have borne a meritorious part, and as hereinafter specified, viz.:

* * * * *

Twentieth Michigan Volunteers—Fredericksburg, Siege of Vicksburg, Jackson, Blue Springs, Campbell's Station, Siege of Knoxville, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Weldon Railroad, Petersburg, Poplar Springs Church, Reams' Station, Hatcher's Run.

* * * * *

By command of Major General Meade.

GEO. D. RUGGLES,
Assistant Adjutant General.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 2, Page 180.)

LETTER OF O. B. WILLCOX TO GENERAL JOHN G. PARKE.

Headquarters First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
January 19, 1865.

Maj. Gen. John G. Parke,
Commanding Ninth Army Corps:

General—I would respectfully call your notice, for such action as you may deem best, the merits of Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon, Twenty-seventh Michigan Volunteers. He has been almost constantly in the field since October, 1862; distinguished himself as major of the Twentieth Michigan Volunteers, in Kentucky, on the Cumberland River, and in East Tennessee, in 1863; and, as lieutenant colonel, commanding that regiment, behaved with conspicuous gallantry at the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, where he was wounded. He has commanded the Second Brigade of this division in the more recent operations, and has brought that brigade up to the highest efficiency. Other officers are expected to join, of senior rank, but far inferior in merit, to Cutcheon, and I do not think it would be for the interest of the service to have this gallant brigade change hands. You will remember that he has been breveted colonel

and recommended for brevet as brigadier general. I beg leave to recommend that he be either appointed or breveted brigadier general of volunteers.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. B. WILLCOX,

Brevet Major General. Commanding.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 3, Page 1039.)

ORGANIZATION SECOND BRIGADE, APRIL 30, 1865.

Same as organization of October 31, 1864.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 3, Page 1188.)

ORDER FOR GRAND REVIEW.

Hdqrs. District of Alexandria, Ninth Army Corps,
Alexandria, Va., May 21, 1865.

Col. George D. Ruggles,

Assistant Adjutant General, Army of the Potomac:

Colonel—In compliance with instructions of yesterday's date from headquarters Army of the Potomac, I have the honor to submit the following as the order in column of the troops of the Ninth Army Corps, as arranged for the review ordered for 23d instant:

Major General John G. Parke, commanding, and staff; cavalry escort (detachment Second Pennsylvania Cavalry), Lieutenant D. R. Maxwell commanding.

First Division, Ninth Army Corps, Brevet Major General O. B. Willcox commanding: First Brigade, Colonel Samuel Harriman, commanding—Thirty-eighth Wisconsin Volunteers, Colonel James Bintliff; Twenty-seventh Michigan Volunteers, Colonel Charles Waite; Seventeenth Michigan Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel F. W. Swift; Thirty-seventh Wisconsin Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel John Green; One Hundred and Ninth New York Volunteers, Captain Z. G. Gordon; Seventy-ninth New York Volunteers, Major A. D. Baird. Second Brigade, Brevet Colonel Ralph Ely, commanding—First Sharpshooters and Second Michigan Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel A. W. Nichols; Forty-sixth New York Veteran Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Adolph Becker; Fiftieth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Telford; Twentieth Michigan Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel C. A. Lounsbury; Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel M. P. Avery. Third Brigade, Brevet General N. B. McLaughlen, commanding—Third Maryland Battalion Volunteers, Brevet Colonel G. P. Robinson; Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, Colonel E. G. Marshall; Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Volunteers, Captain Frederick Cochran; One Hundredth Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel N. J. Maxwell.

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I have the honor to be, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN G. PARKE,

Major General, Commanding.

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 3, Page 1207.)

REPORT OF STRENGTH OF SECOND BRIGADE AT GRAND REVIEW,
MAY 23, 1865.

Second Brigade.	Commis- sioned officers.	Enlisted men.	Total.
Headquarters.....	7	49	.....
First Sharpshooters and Second Michigan Volunteers.....	27	302	.....
Forty-Sixth New York Volunteers.....	15	296	.....
Fiftieth Pennsylvania Volunteers.....	18	435	.....
Twentieth Michigan Volunteers.....	16	229	.....
Sixtieth Ohio Volunteers.....	10	304	.....
Totals.....	93	1,615	1,708

(Official Records, Vol. XLVI, Part 3, Page 1238.)

Headquarters First Division, Ninth Army Corps,
Washington, D. C., May 30, 1865.

Special Orders
No. 101.

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II. The term of service of the Seventeenth and Twentieth Michigan and One Hundred and Ninth New York Infantry Volunteer Regiments expiring before the 1st of October next, they will be mustered out and proceed to their respective places of rendezvous in the states to which they belong. The quartermaster's department will furnish the necessary transportation. These regiments have all won an honorable fame in the history of the present war. The Seventeenth and Twentieth Michigan have served nearly three years under their present division commander. It is with pride and gratitude that he refers to their distinguished gallantry on many a hard fought field from South Mountain to Petersburg. The One Hundred and Ninth New York, as one of the younger regiments of this division, may well feel proud of its record. But one year ago, when this regiment joined, its ranks were full, and the bloody battlefields from the Rapidan to Petersburg bear witness to the courage with which they sacrificed themselves to their country.

May those who remain of those three regiments long live to enjoy the reward of well doing and lofty patriotism in the happiness of honorable homes and the admiration of their countrymen.

By command of Brevet Major General O. B. Willcox.

WARREN A. NORTON,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

The committee having the publication of the Story of the Regiment in charge, would have been glad to secure its publication in larger type; but as less than 200 copies had been subscribed the time the contract was let, it was impossible to secure its publication in larger type. No bid was within the amount at the disposal of the committee by a very considerable sum. Only by making a special arrangement with the Robert Smith Printing Company was the committee able to secure its publication.

The committee was obliged to eliminate some sketches which would have added interest to the book, and confine the narrative to a history of the organization and movements of the Regiment as a whole.

In the matter of photographs, the committee was obliged to confine them to those of Generals Burnside, Willcox, and the field and staff officers, including those who at some time had command of the Regiment, and those who fell in battle, or died of disease while in the army, with one exception. After the death of Captain Charles T. Allen, one of the bravest of men, and a universal favorite with the Regiment, the committee concluded that there could be no invidious distinction in publishing his photograph, although he had never had command of the Regiment.

C. B. GRANT,
SAM'L H. ROW,
C. W. MAYNARD,
H. R. MILLS,
ANDREW KNIGHT.
Committee.

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